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The Third Plenum of the Sixth Party Central Committee

*42100002a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Aug 87 pp 1-4*

[Communique]

[Text] The Third Plenum of the Sixth Party Central Committee was held from 20-28 August 1987. Comrade General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh delivered an important address to the plenum. The plenum heard and agreed to the Party Central Committee Political Bureau's report on reviewing performance and the urgent policies and measures to continuously implement the resolution of the Sixth Party Central Committee 2d Plenum.

The plenum asserted: the second plenum resolution is correct. It reflects the spirit and content of the Sixth Party Congress resolution. Through the implementation of the Party Central Committee 2d Plenum's resolution over the past 4 months and more, various echelons, sectors and grassroots units have made great efforts, yet the situation of distribution and circulation continues to develop badly. This plenum analyzed the objective and subjective causes of this situation, assessed the actual socio-economic status of our country and upheld the determination to lead all the people and party members to thoroughly understand the guiding concepts of the 2d Plenum resolution, strenuously overcome difficulties, boost productive labor, practice thrift, firmly maintain discipline, resolutely struggle against negative phenomena and help to gradually improve the situation of production, distribution and circulation and livelihood.

The plenum discussed and approved the resolution on shifting the operations of state-run economic units to socialist business so as to economically renovate state management, resolutely eliminate the system of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidization, implement the system of planning according to socialist business procedures and in conformity with the principles of democratic centralization of which the central task is to implement the system of autonomy in production and business of the socialist economic units primarily the state-owned economic units and, at the same time, to basically renovate the mechanism of state economic management, causing the primary economic installations to shift to socialist business.

The current purpose of renovating the economic management mechanism is to create a strong impetus to liberate all production capabilities, promote scientific and technological progress and develop the economy and goods along the advance to socialism with increasingly higher productivity, quality, and effectiveness to immediately serve the three major economic programs, gradually implement the Four Reductions, establish order and discipline in all economic activities, advance toward stabilizing the socio-economic situation and create the bases for progress.

In renovating the economic management mechanism, we must generally apply the system of rules and laws in which the particular rules and laws of socialism have developed with every passing day their guiding and mobile role within a unified body in combination with the laws of value and other laws of goods production under socialism to warrant the actual central role for planning, correctly implement the principle of democratic centralization, resolutely oppose bureaucratic centralism and unprincipled liberalism, correctly resolve the economic interests of the entire society, collectives, or individual workers in which workers' interests are the direct motive force; intensify the role of party leadership in line with the requirements of renovating state economic management and insure the autonomy of primary installations and the right to mastery of workers' collectives. The plenum stressed that the prerequisites for renovating the economic management mechanism are to rearrange and reorganize production and to carry out the socialist transformation of the economy, aimed at shaping a rational economic structure and strengthening the material and technical conditions for the economy.

Renovating the economic management mechanism is a process encompassing many appropriate steps and at each step we must uniformly carry out the measures on policies, ideology, cadre organization and the legal system in a synchronized manner among the various sectors and echelons from the central down to the local and grassroots levels.

The main point of steps to be taken from now until 1990 is to shift the activities of economic units to socialist business. To do so, we must implement the system of autonomy in production and business for primary economic units, especially those that are state run, along with basically renovating a step further their policies and operating procedures and organizing the state management machinery to create a business environment for primary economic units. At the same time, we must clearly define the limits to be observed by primary economic installations and must enhance the efficiency of state management control over the entire economy.

As for the implementation of a system of autonomy in production and business for state-run economic units, the plenum has used past experiences as its base in implementing the Political Bureau's draft resolution Number 306 to supplement and enhance many specific points, to further extend autonomy to primary installations under centralized and unified state management control.

The plenum made some proposals to renovate a basic step further the state economic management mechanism. These are that the administrative agencies at all levels must correctly implement their function of state economic management and stop assuming the function of managerially controlling production and business, violating the autonomy of economic units. At the same time, they must achieve rational labor division and

distribution of authority between the central and local governments and on this basis gradually and rationally reorganize the state machinery at all levels.

In order to create conditions and a business environment for economic units, it is imperative to basically renovate the contents and methods of national economic planning by gradually shifting from the method of assigning norms and regulations which mainly emphasizes the relations between the allocation of materials and the delivery of products, to the method of mainly using various economic policies, stressing the need to insure the scientificness and balance of plans.

The plenum stressed the need to combine implementation of the 2d Plenum's resolution on the policies of distribution and circulation closely with the implementation of the Third Plenum's resolution into a unified body of the state economic management mechanism. The new economic management mechanism raises new requirements for state management cadres, production and business management cadres, and demands that the cadre task be truly renovated.

In the current situation, cadres must positively participate in renovation and have the ability to successfully carry it out. Enterprise directors must know how to manage the economy, possess the ability to run business, be honest and clean and have a healthy lifestyle. We must urgently train and replenish the existing contingent of cadres as an indispensable preparatory step for the implementation of the Third Plenum's resolution.

There must be a new viewpoint on the cadre task and the cadre recruitment system based on the principle of democratization and publication to assess cadres through the actual results of their performance. We must renovate the training scope and method and retrain leading and management cadres, research cadres and teaching cadres in line with the new economic and management thinking, emphasizing the practicality and gradually enhancing systematicness.

The Third Plenum's resolution on shifting the operations of state-owned economic units to socialist business and on renovating state economic management marks a new step of development in the leading and economic management tasks of our party and state and lays a foundation for the formation of a new economic management mechanism in accordance with the Sixth Party Congress resolution. The organization and implementation of the resolution calls for adequate preparations to carry it out step by step, positively and steadily by promoting democracy, upholding discipline and law, regularly conducting control and drawing on experiences so as to promptly adjust, amend and perfect the scope of the new economic management mechanism.

The Party Central Committee plenum also approved the work regulations of the Party Central Committee to insure the correct implementation of the principle of

democratic centralization in party activities and enhance the revolutionary and scientific characteristics of the task of party leadership in order to meet the requirements of the new task.

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On Restructuring the Economic Management Mechanism

42100002b Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 5-15

[Address by General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh at the Third Plenum of the Sixth CPV Central Committee]

[Text] Comrades: following a period of intensive preparations, with opinions contributed by the comrade members of the Central committee, many production and business establishments, and various sectors and levels, the Political Bureau today presents to the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee the draft resolution on renovating the mechanism of economic management. Before the plenum holds discussions and issues a resolution, I would like to present some thoughts about the way issues were raised in the draft resolution and, through this, suggest more issues that need to be discussed to further clarify the contents of the draft resolution.

Comrades, the successful implementation of the Sixth National Party Congress resolution dealing with the economic field decisively depends on the extent to which we renovate the mechanism of economic management and on the speed of this renovation. It is for precisely this reason that the party congress set forth the tasks of uniformly shaping a new economic management system with planning as its central link, implementing socialist accounting and business practices in strict accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, and developing the efficiency of the new mechanism of economic management to satisfactorily exploit the capabilities of various production establishments and consolidate order and discipline in economic management.

The task of renovating the mechanism of economic management is currently a pressing requirement and the most important integral part of our party's entire activity in the domain of economic leadership. In this domain, our party is embarking on four extensive, closely related activities: implementing the three major economic programs, carrying out socialist transformation, renovating the mechanism of economic management, and renovating organization and cadres.

Renovation of the mechanism of economic management will yield good results only if it is closely linked with implementation of the aforementioned activities.

At present, what we lack most are not only the material and technical bases of socialism and sources of supplies to meet the demands of production and life, but also a

suitable mechanism of economic management to drive the entire national economy, as well as each production and business establishment, in the most efficient manner. The building of a new mechanism of economic management is an essential condition for the rational and effective use of existing material and technical bases and for actively contributing to the creation of new sources of supply for the national economy, thereby serving the implementation of the three major economic programs.

Proceeding from this perception, although only 8 months have elapsed since the Sixth Party Congress and they have had to carry out many other tasks, the Political Bureau and Central Committee have devoted a great deal of time to the task of renovating the mechanism of economic management. Last April, the 2d Plenum of the Central Committee issued a resolution on urgent problems of distribution and circulation. This was an important component in the renovation of the mechanism of economic management as a whole; it focused on renovating mechanism, policy and organization in the area of distribution and circulation, an area that is creating major obstacles in the direct production sector. This was a correct and creative resolution reflecting the renovation of economic thinking as called for by the Sixth National Party Congress.

However, as noted in the conclusion reached by the Political Bureau, the resolution of the 2d Plenum of the Party Central Committee has not yet penetrated life; therefore, the distribution and circulation situation is still developing in a complex manner and, in some respects, the situation has become even more acute than before. On the basis of ideas contributed by the comrade members of the Central Committee at this plenum, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers will continue to guide expansion of this resolution's implementation in order to bring about meaningful changes. In the past few months, the Political Bureau has held discussions on many occasions and has directed its staff organs to prepare a program for renovating the mechanism of economic management. In renovating the economic management mechanism, two fundamental issues arise—renovating the management mechanism at the level of grassroots units and renovating state economic management. Realities, as well as theories, show that these two issues are organically related; neither of them can be ignored. Grassroots economic units are the cells of the national economy where material wealth is produced so that society can provide for the laboring people's life and, at the same time, accumulate funds for the grassroots, as well as capital for the state.

Therefore, a key link is renovating the management mechanism at the grassroots level along the line of establishing its right to autonomy; this will help to closely link authorities with responsibilities and benefits with obligations so that a strong driving force is generated in production and business. However, grassroots

economic units must operate within a unified national economy under the guidance, moderation and orchestration of the highest director, namely, the proletarian dictatorship state. The strength and superiority of our system stem from the harmonious combination of these two fundamental factors. Here, contradictions as well as unity exist. Finding a suitable mechanism to insure the dynamism of the grassroots level as well as the centralized and unified character of the entire economy is a difficult task in the practice of socialist economic management. This is an important requirement in renovating economic management in the fraternal socialist countries as well as in our country at present.

In the Political Bureau's draft resolution No 306, we have defined, although still inadequately, the important issues with the aim of guaranteeing the grassroots economic units' right to autonomy in production and business. However, as you see, comrades, the draft resolution fails completely in dealing with the issue of state economic management; even the section referring to the grassroots economic units' autonomy needs to be supplemented at many points. The new program is designed to overcome these shortcomings and to perfect a number of issues already raised.

It should further be said that the very experimental implementation of draft resolution No 306 has revealed the pressing need to renovate state economic management. From this, we realize that renovation of management at the grassroots level is the starting point for renovating economic management at the higher state level instead of the other way around. At present, we have not perceived the content of state economic management in its entirety; more time is needed for things to reveal themselves. Therefore, it is very possible that some comrades are not yet satisfied with the way this issue is presented in the program. Those comrades who feel that some points need to be supplemented or revised are encouraged to contribute their views.

In discussing the draft resolution to be submitted to the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee, some comrades contended that the draft resolution should deal with all models of grassroots economic units as cited in the Political Bureau's draft resolution No 306—namely, grassroots state-run economic units in industry and agriculture and collectivized economic units in agriculture and artisan and handicraft industries—and in addition to these units, the individual private capitalist economy, joint state-public enterprises, and the family-run economy. The Political Bureau has carefully debated this issue. In principle, we feel this contention is rational in some respects, particularly in view of the need to immediately establish a management mechanism for economic units in agriculture in support of the primary program of grain and food, as well as development of agriculture and the rural areas in general. However, this issue to be raised does not lie in whether these subjects are pressing or not, but in how we have prepared for this work. Indeed, we cannot in a short period of time

prepare a plan for all forms of grassroots economic units if we do not want to end up with very general ideas. To achieve our aim, we need to conduct a fact-finding study of the situation and causes of the issues to be raised. From this, we can come up with practical, correct and clear-cut measures aimed at helping grassroots economic units advance.

It is not at all simple to evaluate the issues currently arising in agriculture and the rural areas, especially the issue of giving out contracts for end products to individual laborers as well as the way of perfecting contracts and other after-contract management forms. The field of small industry and handicraft production is no less complex. Therefore, it is more reasonable for us to prepare these subjects in a more careful and urgent manner and present them to the next CPV Central Committee plenum, so that it can have the Political Bureau incorporate them in a resolution.

At this CPV Central Committee plenum, we can only mention the formula of grassroots, state-run economic units and we will go deeper into state-run industry. It is realistic to raise the issue this way. For many years now, a number of state-run grassroots economic units have adopted several new, dynamic and effective business methods. These serve as a basis for us to perfect, supply and improve the new management mechanism. We also have the Political Bureau's draft resolution No 306, which makes a relatively profound presentation of this issue. Furthermore, we have a little more than a year to carry out experimentation in order to find out which areas are good and which do not merit further attention.

A number of comrades feel that since the economy has five components, dealing only with the state-run economic sector is too limited. This is because the state-run economic sector is only a small component in the national economy. This argument is correct only in the formal sense. It should be noted that the industrial and state-run construction sector employs a labor force accounting for little more than a million out of the country's total 30 million laborers, and this sector has been able to create only 35 percent of the total volume of social production and 24 percent of the total national revenue—this is from statistics obtained in 1985. However, it is a very important force controlling the country's essential economic arteries. This is not to mention other state-run grassroots economic units in home trade, foreign trade, transportation, services and so forth.

Our national economy is now facing many difficulties. This is largely due to the fact that state-run grassroots units are not strong enough. With a renovated management mechanism, these economic units will become stronger, have a good effect on the entire economy and play a leading role in achieving joint business ventures and integration among various economic components, thus creating favorable conditions for satisfactorily

implementing the three major economic programs. Thus, the issue to be raised does not lie just in quantity, but, more importantly, in quality.

There is another approach in light of the main subjects of the plan. A number of comrades feel that before discussing various forms of grassroots economic units in detail, it is necessary to reserve a part [of the main subjects] for presenting all of the general points of the management mechanism as a fundamental guideline and a foundation for guiding the establishment of various concrete management mechanisms. What can we say about this suggestion? I think that methodologically, there are two ways to raise an issue. First, we can go from things that are general to things that are particular and from things that are integrated to things that are specific. Second, we can go from things that are particular and specific to things that are general and more integrated. As for the first way to raise an issue, I think that if we want to go from general ideas to specific ones we must grasp the general to a certain extent. Grasping the general absolutely requires a generalization of the specific through research. Otherwise, the general could very easily become a premise that has little concrete effect on practical guidance. Furthermore, the autonomy system in a state-run economy is different from the autonomy system in a collective economy; it also differs vastly from that in an individual economy and private capitalist economy. As a matter of fact, in the individual and private capitalist economies there is no need to raise the issue of economic autonomy because it is a matter of course when ownership of the means of production and the organization of management and distribution fall under the authority of these economies. A soloist can direct himself; the state need only issue policies to insure that such economies develop in the right direction and to administer strict management.

Although we still do not have sufficient conditions to study such complex subjects in order to formulate a fully worked out overall concept of the general, I think that, with regard to the main features, we can rely on the economic management mechanism expounded in the Sixth National Party Congress resolution. These main features are such issues as the orientation of renovating the economic management mechanism, the principle of socialist accounting and business, centralism and democracy, the role of economic levers and socialist legislation in economic management, and so forth. These issues, though only a broad outline, can still serve as a lodestar for the drafting of various decisions on a concrete economic management mechanism. If what we want is to deal with general issues more fully, more deeply and in a manner closer to the reality of economic management to provide concrete guidance for the building of management models for various economic forms, I do not think we can do it at this time because we have not yet accumulated sufficient experience, as well as a theoretical basis.

Comrades, in nature as well as in society, both theory and reality have proven that to change form one state to

another requires transitional steps. It is impossible to leap to a higher form when the material conditions to insure its existence have not yet been fully prepared. A task laid down must be closely linked with the means necessary for its implementation. In many respects, our country still lacks the premises and conditions for the establishment of an economic management system that is completely new in nature, perfect and uniform. This is because of the following:

1. Our country's economy is still severely out of balance. There is too big a gap between supply and demand; normal conditions still do not exist for reproduction, even for simple reproduction; the society's production system has not yet been reorganized and rearranged; the domain of distribution and circulation is still chaotic; inflation is still serious; and the criteria for production and business efficiency are not stable.
2. The program for socialist construction as well as the social economic strategy has not yet been shaped; the economic structure has only been defined in a general fashion. We cannot put the cart before the horse, nor can we formulate and implement a perfect economic management strategy with a totally new quality before these tasks are finished.
3. The mechanism of bureaucratic centralism based on state subsidies that prevailed for many years in the past still exerts a strong influence and cannot be overcome overnight.
4. The contingent of cadres and the organization of the apparatus are not yet totally prepared for a thorough renovation in both practical experience and knowledge.

In these circumstances, what is most important to us at this time is a strategy of management geared to the existing socio-economic state. This is a highly unstable economic state in which old economic forms remain firmly rooted, and the new ones are in an embryonic stage. In other words, this transitional economic state requires a transitional mechanism of management that simultaneously employs both old and new factors. This is reflected, not only throughout the entire economy but also in each process, each economic unit and each economist. In the Soviet Union at present, although our friends have given themselves the duty of thoroughly reforming the economic management mechanism, this is their long-term goal. To achieve this objective they must, for a number of years, take necessary transitional steps in certain areas such as price reforms, supply trading and so forth.

What has to be asserted is that we must make a transition in order to advance along the line of full socialist business accounting, overcome bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, further broaden the grassroots economic units' right to autonomy in production and business and guarantee correct democratic centralism of the

planned economy. How adequately this will be accomplished depends on the subjective and objective conditions that are already in place. New things cannot emerge when we are still being influenced by the passive wait and see attitude. We must actively work to promptly bring about these conditions. It is expected that, beginning in 1988, some enterprises will shift to socialist business—first of all, those operated jointly with the Soviet Union and those processing and producing consumer goods that have fairly stable sources of supplies and distribution outlets. It will be possible to carry this out on a wider scale in 1989 and to basically shift economic units and the state machinery to the new management mechanism in 1990.

As an immediate step, satisfactorily implementing the resolution of the 2d Plenum of the Party Central Committee will be an important point of progress that positively contributes to renovating the general mechanism of economic management.

The spirit of the draft resolution takes into full account the transitional characteristics of the economy and the management mechanism. Proceeding from this realization, in the current situation we cannot completely switch the entire economy over to full socialist business accounting yet. Presently, a number of grassroots economic units can accurately and fully account for operational expenses and production costs without increasing prices on the social market and causing unexpected price increases that stretch the endurance of the economy and the consumers' purchasing power. Nevertheless, it is premature to say that all grassroots economic units can do so. Time is needed to reorganize production, improve management and techniques and reduce intermediary links and indirect labor operations. It is a fierce struggle to achieve renovation by renouncing the mentality of reliance and the habit of depending on state subsidies, where the state is considered to be a nursemaid who is ready to cover all losses or where the consequences of business practices that give no consideration to efficiency are heaped on the consumers.

Also, it is impossible for us to immediately abolish a number of necessary legal norms, which are very much reduced in comparison with the past, and simply replace them with orders for goods placed by the state and other consumer organs, with contract bids, with economic-technical norms, and with economic stimuli—in short, with indirect economic instruments.

We do not think that the use of these economic formulas will lead to any movement away from socialist principles of economic management. But we cannot use these new management methods yet because they are closely linked to specific prerequisites and conditions that we cannot create at this time. Therefore, the new management forms cited above must be applied only as experiments in areas where conditions permit.

Another unrealistic suggestion is the immediate commercialization of materials trading among various economic components. At a time when there is a serious shortage of sources for materials and even state enterprises have only about 50 percent of their requirements guaranteed, materials must continue to be distributed in accordance with the state plan's priority objectives. At present, all we can do to improve this field of activity is cease the distribution of materials at too low a price since this will lead to waste or the resale of these materials by enterprises in order to benefit from price differences. Depending on each type of enterprise and material, the state will set specific prices for materials, selling materials at fixed prices with varying compensations for losses. The general goal for the future will be for the state to cease compensations for losses. The state will also try to reserve certain types of materials, especially those that are still backlogged, for sale to other economic components in order to meet part of their production and consumption requirements.

A number of comrades feel it is necessary to widely and promptly apply, to all kinds of goods, the one-price system in which the currency will have only one value measuring unit. Otherwise, there will be no way to prevent negativism of all sorts from occurring. Theoretically, this policy is correct. But judging from our present reality, this policy is too idealistic. In any country where there is a serious imbalance in supply and demand for essential materials and goods and a high rate of inflation, one must set quotas and stable prices for these materials and goods due to economic and political considerations.

We must do this despite of any reluctance on our part. But unlike before, we are now much wiser and know how to minimize two-price goods and how to keep the state-adopted prices from being too different from society's market prices. There must be a regular readjustment of prices in accordance with a flexible system since the inflation rate is still great. This is a transitional and dual measure designed to maintain the existence of the two-price system in order to proceed to the one-price system when conditions permit.

By the way, I would like to give some opinions about learning from foreign countries' experiences. As we are a country that has only recently come to socialism, our experiences with socialist construction in general and with economic management are still limited; learning from the experiences of our fraternal countries is very necessary. The issue is how we should learn. First, it is necessary to study the issues carefully in order to grasp the true substance of new economic formulas applied by those countries both in terms of theory and practice. Second, it is mandatory to study the circumstances and the economic, technical and social conditions of our people so that we can know how to apply these formulas. Thus, the application of foreign countries' experiences in our country is really a process of serious and careful study. It does not accept mechanical copying. In this regard, it would be very helpful to recall Lenin's advice

to the communists in the Caucasian republics following the October Revolution: they can and must carry out the transitional process of advancing toward socialism in a slow, cautious and systematic manner that is different from the Russian SSR. This is because these countries are more populous than the Russian SSR. (Complete Collection of Lenin's Works, Volume 43, pages 237-238).

Dear comrades, owing to the socio-economic importance of grassroots state-run economic units, we consider the renovation of the management mechanism at this level an important issue. To accomplish this, it is necessary to guarantee the necessary conditions as our current capabilities permit enterprises to exercise their right to autonomy in production and business, cover their own expenses and achieve profitable development so as to accumulate capital for themselves as well as for the state. The first step taken to remove the limitations imposed on production and circulation in our national economy was marked by the resolution of the Fourth Party Central Committee's Sixth Plenum. Nevertheless, that resolution only set forth a number of policies and measures that were neither systematic nor well coordinated; and in addition, these policies and measures were not institutionalized in a timely manner. Consequently, state-run enterprises have generally been tied up. The biggest limitation is that while the state does not have enough supplies and raw materials, resulting in most of the production capacity of the enterprises being unused and the laid-off workers drawing 70 percent of their pay, rigid regulations on prices and other inconvenient procedures have prevented the enterprises from creating their own sources of supplies and raw material for production. Contrarily, the private capitalist and individual economies, being subjected to no limitations and aided by laxity of state control, have flourished, especially in the area of trade.

With the Secretariat's Directive No 100 on product contracts and the government's Decisions nos 25 and 26CP, autonomy and dynamism have been more or less injected into the production activities of agricultural and industrial units belonging to the socialist economic component. Instead of passively relying on supplies provided by the state as before, the enterprises have, through joint business ventures, economic integration at home and export-import operations, taken the initiative in meeting part of their own need for supplies and raw materials. Materials they procure for themselves are purchased at agreed-upon prices and accounted for in practice as part of production costs. Thanks to this, some enterprises have been able to restore production, create wealth for society and capital for the state and take care of the employment and living conditions of cadres and workers.

However, in addition to these positive aspects some negative phenomena have arisen. We have displayed a lack of calmness in dealing with these negative phenomena and hastily used administrative measures based on

bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies for their prevention and control. For instance, enterprises are rigidly required to account for the production expenses involving their self-procured supplies at state-directed prices; too low a cap is placed on their wage and bonus funds; and so forth. These policies have further widened the gap between planning and the market and paralyzed grassroots' dynamism. As a result, the enterprises have again been driven into a difficult situation as before in their production and business activities. Meanwhile, private and individual production, free from the bind of state regulations, has developed freely and monopolized the trade of many items on both the buying and selling markets. The prevalent situation is that state-run production lags behind collectivized production and the latter lags behind private and individual production. Although this is paradoxical, as in the popular story of a young cock defeating a full-grown rooster in a fight, it is a reality in our country in the recent past as well as at present.

After years of research and practical experimentation for which dear prices were paid, with the Political Bureau's Draft Resolution No 306 dated April 1986 we initially found the correct direction for production and business activities and increased the autonomy of grassroots state-run economic units. Although the draft resolution has its own drawbacks, especially with regard to its concretization by Decision No 76, it gives recognition to the effective actions taken by the various units and localities, many of which though logical were previously illegal.

In briefly reviewing the birth of the new mechanism, the following two observations are noted.

1. The birth of the new mechanism is not simple, and is replete with contradictions. Throughout its tortuous and complex development, it has met with temporary setbacks. The lesson that can be drawn from our forthcoming work is the requirement for fortitude. We are allowed neither to reverse the trend of renovating the management mechanism along the line of establishing the grassroots units' right to autonomy in production and business, nor to be driven by temporary shortcomings into rejecting or violating the general rule of fully broadening democracy for lower echelons while firmly upholding correct centralism at the higher echelons.

2. The adoption of a Party Central Committee resolution is in itself important; but in order to insure its realization in life, attention must be given to directing its institutionalization in the state plane so as to avoid contradicting its spirit and guarantee uniformity and timeliness. This task is very difficult and complex, but it is the central issue upon which our efforts must be concentrated for settlement.

I think these are lessons to which we should pay attention from now on.

The central issue raised this time around by the draft resolution of the Central Committee is to insure the right to autonomy in production and the business of state-run basic economic units in their capacity as socialist goods producers. The draft resolution presented a general body of basic and systematic policies and measures which contain many new points. Therefore, not to waste your time, I would like to deal with only a few issues with which, in my opinion, we should concern ourselves.

To make it possible for enterprises to realize their economic autonomy, I think that they must have control over sources of supplies and raw materials. In the current situation in our country, nearly all enterprises are provided, to a varying extent, with supplies generated by two sources—the state source and the self-procured source. Concerning the first source, it is required that the state notify enterprises early and insure a partial but uniform provision of these supplies right before the plan year. Concerning the portion of supplies which enterprises must procure themselves, some of these supplies come from imports, some from the domestic market. Regarding imported supplies, the grassroots units can entrust their import to the central level or they can obtain them through regional import-export organizations. In the particular cases of some large establishments, they may be authorized to import supplies directly in strict accordance with state policies and law.

With regard to the supplies available domestically, the state should work out appropriate regulations to avoid two phenomena—tying the hands of enterprises in creating sources of supplies, or allowing them to scurry around, sowing disorder in the market. But, in principle, under the current conditions, we must encourage enterprises to create more sources of supplies. Once we accept that there is a portion of supplies that enterprises have to procure by themselves, we must inevitably accept their market prices. These prices must be set according to established guidance and direction, not according to the free market, and this portion of expenditure is allowed to be fully included in the production costs. The state should adopt regulations to insure reasonable prices for the portion of supplies procured by the enterprises themselves to avoid hurting the latter's interests and, at the same time, to prevent them from running after free market prices, thereby inflating them.

Since supplies come from two different sources, they carry two different prices. However, a product made by an enterprise cannot have two prices. Discussions should be held on this issue to reach a unity of views. Is it not a good idea to apply the averaging method in computing the prices of supplies and raw materials coming from both sources?

The autonomy of enterprise can be guaranteed only when there is a mechanism designed to stimulate legitimate interests. Regarding this matter, determination of the limits of profits is of foremost significance. The

method of computing profits as a percentage of production costs of some particular products does not encourage enterprises to operate efficiently because the higher the production costs, the more profit the enterprises will make. The new method of determining the profits of enterprises must be based on the principle of total business receipts minus expenditures and the amounts turned over to the state. This means that the lower the production costs, the higher the profits. This is the source of economic emulation activities between enterprises. It will create a moving force to promote business accounting and to compel enterprises to put their production machinery into high gear, thereby creating realistic potentials for harmoniously settling the three kinds of interests. I suggest that you, Comrades, hold discussions to determine if there are more rational and scientific ways of determining profits.

One of the important autonomous rights of enterprises is financial autonomy. The requirement here is that, generally speaking, enterprises must meet their own expenditures, take care of the livelihood of their own workers and office employees, make profits to achieve their own accumulation of capital for expanded reproduction and to discharge their obligation of contributing the budget. This is a very high and severe requirement.

In order to fulfill this requirement, the state creates conditions in terms of sources of capital for enterprises, such as writing off all depreciation funds for enterprises, stabilizing the rates of budgetary deliveries for a certain number of years, allowing enterprises to mobilize their funds in several forms, and extending ample right to enterprises to use their assets. Moreover, the state insures other rights to autonomy for enterprises in the fields of planning, material supply, consumption of products, labor, wages and so forth.

I want to stress that all these rights are only necessary conditions determined by the state for enterprises to conduct production and business favorably. These rights to autonomy by themselves cannot lead to good results in production and business. To do that and work efficiently, it is imperative that enterprises effect vigorous changes in direct production. Whether the volume of products and goods is large or small, income is high or low, workers' living conditions can be improved or not, enterprises can develop themselves or not and obligations to contribute to the budget can be reduced much or little, it all depends on this task. In this, enterprises are required to have high initiative and dynamism, know how to rationalize production organization, reduce intermediary links and indirect labor, constantly apply technical innovations and economize on capital, raw and other materials and energy to turn out high quality products at low production costs. Our highest hope and objective lies here. A matter of concern is that in this respect, changes in enterprises are still very slow to take place. This is partly because higher echelons have been

slow in eliminating the old management mechanism and building the new one and in securing sufficient necessary material conditions for enterprises to operate.

The Steering Subcommittee of the Council of Ministers, which recently conducted a pilot survey of production costs in some enterprises, has made a general observation that the organization and management of direct production has not actually improved. In most cases, production expenses are merely added together following the former norms to calculate production costs. As a result, there have been quite a number of enterprises in our country which have recorded false profits and true losses. Some enterprises have sought many different illicit ways to make high income that does not result from an effort to increase labor productivity. The state demands that enterprises make correct and true accounts, accurately reflecting the results of their production and business operations.

We are certainly not happy to hear that some enterprises have adopted different ways to account for and distribute their income by using on two or even three books with the one to be submitted to higher echelons containing much false information.

The basic and healthy way to develop and increase income as well as the far-reaching goal of renovating the management mechanism in primary economic units is to vigorously step up production, increase labor productivity and enhance product quality. This is a matter that should be of primary concern to us.

State-owned enterprises play the leading role in the economy. This role must be manifested by the productivity, quality and efficiency of production and business operations by the enterprises which must be definitely higher than that of primary economic units of other economic elements; by the occupation of key economic and technical positions from which to control and orient development correctly for other economic elements; and by the key joint enterprises and economic alliances among different economic elements. If we can do this, we will reverse the long-standing situation in which the state-owned economy has been defeated by the collective, individual and private capitalist economies.

The draft resolution has pointed out the major principles for joint enterprises and economic alliances. Nevertheless, the organizational forms to diversify them in conformity with the characteristics of each trade and job, as well as the mechanism to manage the forms of joint enterprises and alliances domestically and with foreign countries still present many problems to be studied continuously.

The right of enterprises to autonomy cannot be separated from the rights of collectivized workers to collective mastery in the enterprises. The draft resolution has established relatively clearly the responsibility and authority of organizations in primary economic units,

heightening the directors' position. Many points in the previously issued Decision No 182-CP remain valid. They should be referred to when materializing the right to mastery of collectivized workers in enterprises.

The key point to insuring the right to mastery of collectivized workers in enterprises is to develop the role of party committees, directors, trade unions and youth unions. Here lie the questions for further discussion as raised by some comrades: in enterprises, has the party assumed comprehensive leadership? How should party organizations in joint enterprises be organized? If joint enterprises are located completely in a city or a narrow area, it is necessary to apply the form of party organization of a secretaries' conference in the enterprises or to establish a unified party organization?

The assurance of autonomy for enterprises further depends on a very important task, the renovation of state economic management. The basic principle to be applied here is to clearly distinguish the function of directly managing production and business in primary economic units and the function of state economic management. The distinction is aimed at enabling the state to concentrate ability on assuming the key tasks and domains of the national economy, eliminate petty interference in the enterprises' operations and create the most favorable conditions and environment for production and business operations in the enterprises.

The more correctly the state can control the key domains and tasks of the national economy—large scale—the more conditions it can create for economic units—small scale—to operate dynamically and creatively, making it impossible to deviate from the orbit of the planned economy. Although the main contents are mentioned in the project, there are still many issues to be materialized such as the function, mission, authority, apparatus organization and management procedures of the Council of Ministers, ministries and general commissions, of specialized departments as well as of the administration at the provincial, city, district, precinct, village and ward levels.

What is meant by the level superior to primary economic units should be further clarified. The issues of decentralizing management and of budget should also be further clarified. Anyhow, a Party Central Committee plenum is still unable to completely resolve all the problems raised. What is valuable is that we know how to raise the problems to be resolved and are determined to renovate along the established line.

Finally, the renovation of the economic management mechanism depends on the decisive task, that of cadres. At present, our economic cadres are by and large insufficient quantitatively and weak qualitatively. Some of them have even poor ethics, stature and viewpoints of the working class. What should be asserted is that such a situation is not caused by our shortages of cadres but by our lack of plans and programs as well as the correct

procedures to select, train, foster and employ cadres. This is a very urgent task that must be carried out immediately. To be able to do so, there must be a correct viewpoint on cadre standards. We must realize clearly and specifically the quality and ability of an economic management cadre, the characteristics of this type of cadre in comparison with other types of cadres, and the quality and ability of management cadres at each echelon and each economic and technical sector. Failure to have a clear viewpoint on this issue makes it difficult to plan the recruitment and training of cadres as well as to correctly assess cadres.

Dear comrades, the shift from a mechanism of management based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies to a mechanism of socialist business is renovation of a very profound revolutionary nature. It is certain that in this plenum, the comrade members of the Party Central Committee will use their energy and intellect to the fullest extent to make important contributions to this revolutionary renovation. It is expected that some of the issues that I raised here will help secure more suggestions in the process of our study and discussion.

I sincerely thank you, comrades.

Steadily Turning the Resolution of the 6th Congress into Reality

*42100002c Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 16-18*

[Text] For more than one-half year, the activities of our party and state have focused on gradually concretizing the resolution of the Sixth Congress. In the economic field, four closely interrelated activities are being carried out at the same time: formulating and implementing the three major economic programs; continuing to carry out socialist transformation; revamping the economic management mechanism; and restructuring organizational and cadre work. The atmosphere of change in keeping with the spirit of the Sixth Party Congress is spreading in all fields.

The Sixth Congress stated: "We must dismantle the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shift all economic activities to socialist accounting and business practices in exact accordance with the principle of democratic centralism so that the entire system of production and circulation operates in accordance with objective laws and the social product is rapidly increased." "We must gradually restore balance between the volume of goods and the volume of money in circulation in order to solve the key problem of gradually reducing and eventually eliminating inflation." These are the pressing and the long-range problems of our country's economy. Without resolving them, other problems cannot be resolved. The resolution of the 2d Party Plenum, which is the first resolution of the Sixth Party Central Committee, expresses the will and determination to adopt a new approach with the aim of solving these problems. Under the direct guidance of the

Political Bureau and in a very positive spirit, the agency that manages our country day to day, the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers, which holds regular discussions with the Party Secretariat, has performed a significant amount of work with a view toward rapidly implementing the resolution of the 2d Party Plenum. This work has involved: mobilizing and transporting grain from the South to the North; disbanding stationary inspection stations along main roads; adjusting some of the prices managed by the central level; conducting pilot projects in the calculation of production costs, wholesale prices and retail prices at a number of enterprises; revising and amending a number of policies concerning tourism, overseas Vietnamese and the sending of money and goods from overseas; formulating plans for putting activities involving grain, banking, the supplying of materials and home trade on a commercial basis; formulating plans concerning the assignment of budget responsibilities, reducing the number of persons on state employment roles, etc. Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union in the new spirit and quality of cooperation has also been developed. Both the scale and the volume of this cooperation are large. Localities have been trying, although to varying degrees, to coordinate their efforts, integrate their economic activities and take the initiative in solving many problems related to production and the life of cadres and the people.

Generally speaking, however, the resolution of the 2d Party Plenum is being implemented slowly and encountering obstacles in some areas. The reasons for this slowness are many. However, it is clear that our country's socio-economic system faces an abnormal situation. The mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has, for all intents and purposes, not been dismantled. The new mechanism has yet to come into being. This unclear situation is posing a very large obstacle to the restructuring campaign, is causing many management difficulties, is having an adverse impact upon the mood of society and is creating many loopholes for various types of negative activity to steadily increase. The serious consequences of mistakes made in previous years have not been overcome. In addition, despite efforts and positive steps, the management methods of the highest agencies of the party and the state still lack dynamism. Their work methods have not gone beyond manual, passive methods. Some jobs that should have been done immediately have yet to be performed. For example, supplying materials for production is our most critical requirement. However, materials have not only been supplied late, but some have been in short supply as well. Materials have not been supplied in accordance with contracts, supplied to the right place or supplied in the correct types but adjustments have not been made. Unnecessary intermediary organizations within the socialist commerce system are virtually the same as they have always been. Competition in procurements and sales among business agencies (and even non-business agencies) of the state and among some localities and jacking up prices in order to profit by the

price differential, thus disrupting the market and causing major harm to production, are still rampant and open practices. We loudly proclaim that "frugality is a national policy." Frugality is being talked about everywhere. The slogan "practical frugality" is posted everywhere. However, the state still has not promulgated regulations concerning frugality. Waste and negligence have led to many "painful" results. The spending of public funds on banquets and drinking by many agencies and cadres continues, thus causing increased dissatisfaction among the people. Some positions and measures that have been adopted are not consistent with the actual situation.

One cause deserving of attention is that we have recently given light attention to the struggle between the two paths, the struggle against sabotage by the enemy on the economic and ideological fronts. This is the class struggle during the period of transition to socialism. Under the circumstances of our country and, moreover, in the initial stage of this period, the class struggle is even sharper. It demands unity and consensus within the party, demands that leadership and management cadres firmly adhere to our views and stand and be vigilant.

Implementing a resolution such as the resolution of the 2d Plenum of the Sixth Party Central Committee is a process, a very difficult process, one which demands not only a revolutionary spirit and determination, but also knowledge and scientific planning. Selecting and determining steps to be taken that are consistent with reality, are positive and urgent but sound, are the first prerequisite to success. In each step that is taken, policies, measures and organization must be well coordinated. At the same time, efforts must focus on resolving key problems in order to reverse the situation. Once a suitable step has been taken, management methods, dynamism and flexibility in management on the upper level together with a spirit of discipline and sense of organization on all levels are of decisive importance. When providing guidance, it is a mistake to be impetuous and hasty. However, to procrastinate or not be dynamic is to reduce the effectiveness of management agencies, which can also lead to failure.

Compared to October 1985, the current situation is much more difficult in the economic and social fields. There are acute shortages of grain, materials, fuel, goods and foreign currency. The living conditions of the laboring people, particularly manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces, continue to be difficult. In such a situation, it is the position of the party that special measures must be taken regarding matters in the field of distribution and circulation, such as prices, wages, finance, money, exports-imports, market management, consumption by society, etc. However, these measures absolutely must be such that we make inroads against state subsidies, abandon economic management by administrative fiat and make a bold, rapid and irrevocable shift to socialist accounting and business, thereby creating the conditions for the new mechanism to come into being at an early date.

Now, more than ever before, we must uphold the principle of democratic centralism in economic management and increase the effectiveness of centralized, unified leadership by the central level in conjunction with vigorously tapping the dynamism and creativity of basic units, localities and sectors and firmly maintaining order and discipline. The Party Central Committee calls upon all levels and sectors to view things from the perspective of the whole, from a comprehensive perspective, clearly understand the country's economic state, be deeply aware of the struggle between the two paths, between ourselves and the enemy and join the Central Committee in united efforts to apply the party's resolution in everyday life.

Our people have a patriotic tradition, a tradition of trusting the party. Once they understand the situation and gain a correct understanding of the positions of the party and state, they will surely willingly accept them and consider them to be their own tasks. Therefore, implementing the resolution of the 2d Party Plenum must go hand in hand with the struggle against negative phenomena, with responding to "The Task of the Moment," considering this to be a continuous movement, a policy of foremost importance that will help to purify the apparatus of the party and state, make society wholesome and democratize our society.

The upper and lower levels united as one, the party trusting the people and the people trusting the party, these are the secrets of each success.

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Developing the Role of the Federation of Collective Farmers

42100002d Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 19-21, 35

[Unattributed article marking the 1st National Congress of the Vietnam Federation of Collective Farmers]

[Text] Organized and founded by the party at about the same time as the Red Workers' Federation, the Red Peasant Federation was the first socio-political organization of Vietnamese peasants. In its nearly 6 decades of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the party and in order to be consistent with the political task of the party in each period of the revolution, the federation has existed and developed under many different names: the Federation of Peasants for Mutual Assistance and Fraternity, the Anti-Imperialist Peasant Federation, the National Salvation Peasant Federation and the Federation of Peasants for the Liberation of the South. Since the day it was established, the federation has had a nationwide organization. It has brought together millions of patriotic farmers in order to educate and guide them in struggling in accordance with the line of the party. It has brought rights to farmers and prosperity to the country. In the two wars of resistance against France and the United States as well as in the work of building

and defending the country today, the federation has always served as a bridge between the party and the mass of farmers, as a base of revolutionary power, as a member of the National United Front and as a broad socio-political organization of working farmers. In the struggle to put the right of socialist collective ownership into practice, develop production, strengthen production forces, gradually build and strengthen socialist production relations and improve public welfare, in the struggle against negative and backward phenomena in the countryside and the struggle to build and develop village unity, class unity and national unity, the federation has shown itself to be one of the positive factors in strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers under the leadership of the party.

The federation currently has a membership in excess of 10 million. Generally speaking, certain advances have been made in the federation's activities and its members have gradually grown and matured. Each circle and age group within the federation has employed its strengths in fulfilling the functions and tasks of the federation. The contributions and the results of the activities of the federation in the national democratic revolution as well as in the initial stage of the current socialist revolution are a source of pride to farmers nationwide.

However, in the face of the demands of the socialist revolution, the federation's organization is weak in some respects: it has not strongly developed the spirit of collective ownership of farmers, particularly with regard to participating in economic management, the management of the state and the management of cultural and social matters, especially on the basic and district levels. It has not delved deeply into the essence of or the methods for conducting specific activities, consequently, there is a lack of experience in many areas of its work. It has not played an effective role in molding the new farmer or building the new, socialist countryside. The federation's organization was unstable for a period of time. The federation's nature, function and tasks were not clearly defined nor was the relationship between its basic organizations and agricultural cooperatives and other economic organizations in the countryside.

These weaknesses have partially been due to the fact that the party's view concerning the socio-political organization of farmers in the stage of socialist transformation and socialist construction has not been consistent. The federation's organization has lacked a spirit of independent and creative thinking and has not maintained close contact with the basic level. It has been a passive organization, simply awaiting instructions from the party. At some places, there has not been a high degree of unity or consensus among the federation's cadres. Federation cadres have received little elementary or advanced training.

The First National Congress of Delegates of the Federation of Collective Farmers was an important political event for the federation's organization and all our

country's farmers. The congress was one of special importance: it clearly defined the nature, function, tasks and guidelines of the federation in the current stage of the revolution. At the same time, it ratified the statutes of the federation.

Party Secretariat Directive 05 on "The Organization of the Vietnam Federation of Collective Farmers and the First National Congress of the Federation" pointed out: the Vietnam Federation of Collective Farmers "is a broad socio-political organization of working farmers under the leadership of the party. Its primary tasks are: assembling, uniting and educating farmers in order to heighten their sense of socialist collective ownership and make them better able to exercise socialist collective ownership and implement the positions and policies of the party and state among farmers; organizing revolutionary action movements of farmers in the performance of socio-economic and security-national defense tasks, particularly in developing agricultural production, forestry and fishing, carrying out socialist transformation, building the new production relations and building the new, socialist countryside; participating in drafting and supervising and inspecting the implementation of positions, policies, laws, plans, the management mechanism...as they relate to farmers and agricultural production; participating in the struggle against negative phenomena and working with socio-economic organizations and the agencies of the administrations on the various levels to look after the material and spiritual lives of farmers and organizing collective welfare in the countryside well."

The political and ideological educational work of the federation must be aimed at making farmers clearly aware of the honor and responsibility of struggling on the agricultural front while giving them a clear understanding and deep appreciation of socialist industrialization. Agricultural cooperativization and socialist industrialization are the common cause of the working class and farmers. The working class has been and is making important contributions to the agricultural cooperativization movement, to the acceleration of agricultural production and the building of the new countryside. It is the obligation of the class of farmers to make positive contributions to socialist industrialization by fulfilling its obligations to the state, particularly by implementing the policies on economic development and distribution-circulation to provide the state with the conditions needed to carry out socialist industrialization.

The federation must focus on raising, through education, the awareness of farmers concerning the need to build the new economy in the countryside, which essentially entails building and strengthening a cooperativized agriculture, building upon the strengths of collective production and struggling to bring agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production. Through thorough explanations and persuasion, the federation must make farmers understand that to advance agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production, attention must

be given to accelerating the scientific- technological revolution and building the material-technical base of agriculture; to carrying out socialist transformation of agriculture in appropriate forms and stages; to strengthening and developing the role played by the cooperatives and production collectives that have been established; to strengthening and improving the quality of the collective economy and encouraging the development of the household economy in the proper direction; to establishing and expanding direct economic relations and equality between the state and cooperatives, production collectives and farmers...

The federation must help to clearly define, from the perspective of exercising ownership, the position of farmers in the countryside in all aspects of politics, the economy, culture, society and living conditions. From a political standpoint, it must guarantee the democratic rights, the equality and the genuine freedoms of farmers in conjunction with requiring that each person fulfill his or her obligations to the state and the collective. It must also maintain political security and social order in the countryside. From an economic standpoint, it must bring into being and build upon the strengths of the collective way of earning a living and insure that the three different economic interests (of the state, the collective and the individual laborer) are combined in a way that is well balanced. From a cultural, social and living conditions standpoint, it must thoroughly organize the supply of food, shelter, transportation and education and the care of children, the elderly and the families of war dead and war invalids while building cultural and public welfare projects to serve farmers...

The building of the new economy and the new countryside cannot be separated from molding the new, socialist farmer because this farmer is both the product and the master of the building of the new economy and the new, socialist countryside.

The task of educating and training farmers can only be carried out effectively when the federation learns how to mobilize farmers to actively, widely, strongly and continuously respond to the emulation movement to successfully implement the three major economic programs set forth by the Sixth Congress of the Party together with the important decisions of the Party Central Committee.

The new decisions of the party concerning policies regarding farmers in the current stage (the tax policy, the price policy, the policy on trade between the state and farmers...) provide favorable conditions for the federation to delve deeply into propagandizing and encouraging farmers to emulate in production and the successful implementation of the three economic programs, most importantly the grain-food products program. The various levels of the federation must closely coordinate with the mass organizations and related sectors for the purposes of correctly setting contract output levels and agricultural tax rates and agitating among farmers to encourage them to deliver their products to the state

quickly, fairly and in the full amount required. The federation must organize farmers to struggle against the under-reporting of the amount of area under cultivation and output, tax evasion and tax cheating. It must supervise and inspect compliance with the positions and policies of the party and state that apply to farmers. At the same time, it must bring to light and point out to the party and state policies that are not appropriate so that these policies can be promptly revised. The federation must encourage farmers to sell agricultural products over and above obligations to the state at negotiated prices and promptly expose speculators, black marketeers and persons who steal property of the state and collective.

Mobilizing farmers is a science and an art. The lessons learned in this regard in the previous stage of the revolution are still useful but do not fully meet the demands of the new situation. Therefore, the federation must truly take a new approach in its work of mobilizing farmers. The federation's organizations on the various levels must shift their focus to basic units, closely coordinate with the mass organizations and related sectors and help basic units to quickly grow and mature in their work. The federation must regularly give its attention to summarizing the experiences gained during each period and in each specific field so that its work is always improved, is compatible with the requirements and standards of farmers.

Restructuring the federation's corps of cadres is a pressing requirement. The federation's cadres must be selected from within the revolutionary movement of farmers. These must be persons who possess sterling revolutionary qualities and knowledge of the economy, who know farmers and agriculture well, are enthused about this work and feel a sense of responsibility to the movement. In conjunction with training the federation's corps of specialized cadres, full importance must be attached to training and utilizing the corps of semi-specialized cadres because they constitute a broad and powerful force and can actively contribute to success in the activities of the federation.

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Uncle Ho and the Mobilization of Peasants

42100002e Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 22-24, 52

[Article by Huu Cong, specialist, the Federation of Collective Farmers]

[Text] At the very dawn of the revolution, Uncle Ho gave special attention to mobilizing peasants. He was interested in propagandizing and awakening peasants and stressed the need to establish a peasant union. In his work "The Revolutionary Road," which he used to train the first cadres of our party, Uncle Ho, after describing the suffering of our country's peasants under the two

yokes of colonialist and feudal oppression and exploitation, said: "If Vietnam's peasants want to free themselves from this wretched plight, they must organize themselves in order to find the path to liberation." (1) But as dark as things were at that time, he did not forget to propose a suitable path to follow. He suggested: the first step that should be taken is to establish a union, "not one called the peasant union, but a roofers' guild, a fishermen's guild, a rice growers' guild and so forth in order to conceal its true identity. Moreover, there are already many such guilds in Vietnam's villages today. In organizing peasants, we should, depending upon circumstances, use such guilds." (2) "A union is a place, first, where there is a spirit of fraternity and, secondly, where we encourage one another to learn more. Once we have learned spiritual 'revolution' and economic 'revolution,' political 'revolution' cannot be far away." (3) Thus, from the very outset, he attached importance to the socio-political nature of the union's organization.

After founding the party and together with establishing a revolutionary base among workers and intellectuals, he attached importance to establishing the rudiments of the revolution in the countryside, especially the organization of the peasants' union. On 5 November 1930, in a letter to the Peasant International, he reported in detail on the peasant movement in our country and stated that peasants were joining the union to struggle for civil and democratic rights. After denouncing the French colonialists for ruthlessly suppressing the peasant movement, he proposed: "We should hold the first peasant congress at an early date. I request that you give me your opinion and necessary instructions along with an inspirational letter to the congress. I also request that you reply to me through the Communist International and, in my opinion, it would be very good if the Peasant International were to assist the victims of this campaign of terror." (4)

The interest of Uncle Ho and our party in mobilizing peasants and organizing a peasant union gave strong impetus to our country's peasant movement. Under the party's leadership, our peasants quickly formed a close alliance with workers and the other strata of the people, thereby creating the miraculous strength that enabled us to write glorious pages in our history and making enormous contributions to the victory of the 1945 August Revolution and the establishment of the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia. Every time the revolution entered a new stage, the specific targets and methods of struggle of the peasant movement were promptly defined by Uncle Ho and our Party Central Committee. From the establishment of the Red Farmers' Federation, the Farmers' Federation for Mutual Assistance and Fraternity and the Anti-Imperialist Farmers' Federation to the Farmers' Federation for National Salvation and the Farmers' Federation for the Liberation of the South, Uncle Ho was interested in the substance of the work and mode of operation of the federation's organization. In a letter to peasant cadres in November 1949, he wrote: "To mobilize peasants, we must:

- Organize peasants very tightly;
- Unite peasants very closely;
- Train peasants so that they are truly aware;
- Lead peasants in a spirited struggle for the interests of peasants, of the fatherland.”(5)

He stressed: “To mobilize peasants, we must agitate in such a way that all peasants take action, that is, we must give peasants a clear understanding of the interests of the nation and their circle and bring peasants into the Peasant Union for National Salvation in large numbers in order to struggle for their goals and actively participate in the war of resistance and national construction.”(6) With a view toward achieving these ends, Uncle Ho demanded that cadres engaged in the mobilization of peasants avoid bureaucratic behavior, formalism and the malady of red tape; that they maintain close contact with the basic level; that they go places themselves and see and hear things first hand; that they speak out, work with their own hands and think with their own minds; that they exchange experiences with, assist and learn from peasants.

In March 1951 in a letter to the Second National Salvation Peasant Conference, he further stressed: “The Peasant Union for National Salvation must effectively, widely and closely organize peasants. In particular, it must accept rural youths and women in order to make the union larger, stronger and more spirited. At the same time, it must educate its members, must teach practical, everyday things to peasants so that the union becomes a strong force in order to implement each policy of the government and the Lien Viet.”(7)

More than anyone else, Uncle Ho understood and shared the thoughts, aspirations and life of the peasants of the ethnic groups of our country. He personally launched and set an example by participating in the movements to wipe out ignorance and hunger, combat natural disasters, floods and drought, fight epidemics, etc. He demanded that cadres engaged in the mobilization of peasants concern themselves first with the living conditions of peasants and that they know how to organize peasants in helping one another overcome each difficulty posed by natural disasters and enemy attacks.

His greatest wish was that all our people be well fed, well clothed and educated. President Ho pointed out that the only way to achieve these goals was to bring peasants into collective production. On 11 April 1946, less than 9 months after political power was seized, he issued an appeal to peasants to establish cooperatives. He wrote: “Vietnam is an agricultural country. Our economy is based on farming. In building the country, the government relies upon peasants, upon agriculture to a large extent.

If our peasants are wealthy, our country will be wealthy. If agriculture is prosperous, our country will be prosperous. In order for peasants to become wealthy and agriculture to become prosperous, we must establish cooperatives.”(8)

After explaining what cooperatives are in a simple and easily understood manner, he pointed out: “Everyone wants to live a full life and be wealthy. Everyone wants the country to be prosperous and the people to be strong. Thus, let us quickly pool capital, join forces and establish agricultural cooperatives everywhere. Every village must have a cooperative.”(9)

In the process of mobilizing peasants to join cooperatives, Uncle Ho was especially concerned that peasants join cooperatives on a voluntary basis and directed that every cooperative which was established be strengthened very well in order to use the superior method of operation of a cooperative to persuade other peasants to join. Speaking at the 1959-1960 winter-spring production conference of former Ninh Binh Province, President Ho advised: “It is necessary for the superior nature of cooperatives to be seen in practical results, that is, in higher income and much larger harvests after joining a cooperative. This will give cooperative members enthusiasm and establish a close allegiance on their part to their cooperatives. This is the best method of propaganda and persuasion we can employ to encourage peasants to join cooperatives.”(10)

President Ho was very concerned with distribution within cooperatives. Whenever addressing this matter in talks at basic units, he clearly explained the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and the need to avoid egalitarianism in distribution. At the 1959 conference to draw experience in the management of agricultural cooperatives, Uncle Ho stated: “While producing many products, we must also give our attention to insuring that distribution is fair. In order for distribution to be fair, cadres must be unbiased and must sometimes even take less for themselves for the sake of common interests. They should not take all the best products for themselves and leave all the products of poor quality for someone else.”(11) He asserted: “To manage cooperatives well, management cadres must be democratic and avoid bureaucratic behavior, avoid managing by fiat. They must discuss everything they do with cooperative members. If they are bureaucratic and undemocratic in their behavior, if they manage by fiat, they are certain to fail.”(12)

It was at a very early date that he first raised the matter of upholding the right of collective ownership of cooperative members. At the same time, he clearly defined the role of the peasant union with regard to participating in managing and supervising cooperatives and building solid and strong cooperatives. Speaking to the people and cadres of Thai Binh Province on 1 January 1967, President Ho analyzed in detail the fundamentals of cooperative management, such as public financial

reporting, strenuous efforts to combat misappropriation, waste, etc. He suggested: "Cooperatives must do whatever is necessary to show all their members that they are the collective owners of the cooperative, that they have the right to discuss and decide the work of the cooperative. In this way, cooperative members will be closely united, will produce with enthusiasm and the cooperative will make continuous progress."(13)

President Ho discussed in detail the matter of combining, in a way that is well balanced, the rights and obligations of peasants and the interests of the state, the collective and cooperative member and gave his attention to the relationship between the state and the cooperative. In a very important speech on the agricultural development plan in the North for the 5 years from 1961 to 1965, which he delivered in Dai Nghia Village in former Ha Dong Province in October 1961, President Ho emphasized: "The government must buy grain and agricultural products from cooperatives. It must also sell to cooperatives chemical fertilizers, farm implements and, eventually agricultural machinery. This trade must be conducted under a contract signed between the government and the cooperative. Once this contract has been signed, the cooperative must comply with it fully, as must the government. This is the only way to be fair."(14) He went on to say: "Trade must be at appropriate prices. Ordinarily, the buyer wants to buy at a low price while the seller wants to sell at a high price. We cannot do this. Prices must insure that the state, the cooperative and the cooperative member benefit in order to build the country."(15)

Today, President Ho is no longer with us. But his instructions concerning organizing and mobilizing farmers, concerning the alliance of workers and farmers... continue to be the compass guiding our effort to mobilize farmers with the aim of bringing our country's rural areas to the goals he sought each day he was alive and to which he charted our course.

Footnotes

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, Volume 2, p 244.
2. Ibid., p 246.
3. Ibid., p 247.
4. Ibid., 1983, Volume 3, pp 30-31.
5. Ibid., 1985, Volume 5, pp 312-313.
6. Ibid., p 313.
7. Ibid., 1986, Volume 6, pp 57-58.
8. Ibid., 1984, Volume 4, pp 124.
9. Ibid., pp 124-125.

10. Ho Chi Minh: "On the Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, pp 35, 36.

11. Ibid., p 45.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p 205.

14. Ibid., pp 149, 150.

15. Ibid., p 150.

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A Hard Look at the Current State of Education in Our Country

42100002f Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 87 pp 25-28

[Article by Dang Quoc Bao, director of the Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee]

[Text] Our country's national education system has taken long strides forward over the years, particularly since the liberation of the South and the reunification of the country. The common, largest achievement has been the establishment of a unified socialist system of education nationwide, one which shares a common socialist ideological base and socialist views, is guided by the education line of the party and consists of a vast network of schools and classes extending from child care centers, kindergartens, general school education and supplementary education to trade training, vocational middle school education, academy and college education and, since 1980, post-graduate education. In the "two goods" emulation movement, many advanced models and positive factors have emerged, bringing with them effective ways to solve practical problems in education, particularly on the local and basic levels. The occupational structure of the technical labor force has steadily expanded and become better balanced. The corps of socialist intellectuals in many fields of science, technology, economic management and social management, persons who were trained in the socialist schools of Vietnam, is a very important potential in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

However, when we look back on the long distance we have traveled and compare what has been accomplished to the targets set forth in the 11 January 1979 resolution of the Political Bureau on educational reform, when we reexamine the whole of education under the light of the Fifth and Sixth Congresses of the Party, it can be said that education has developed slowly and is not moving ahead at the speed necessary for us to catch up to our times. In many respects, education is stagnant and backward.

Following several decades of development, we still have not popularized level I education nationwide. And, if we continue to do things the same way, the target will still not be met by 1990. Meanwhile, illiteracy and re-illiteracy are threatening to increase. Even at places which enjoy favorable conditions, places where the education movement has developed, there are still persons who are illiterate, even children of school age. If this phenomenon is not corrected, we cannot complete the popularization of level I education. In the Central Highlands, the Mekong Delta and the northern mountains, the education movement is still at a very low level of development. The cultural and technical standards of the people do not meet the demands of socio-economic and national defense strategy.

The trade training system has been developing very slowly. It is not commensurate with nor closely tied to the network of general schools. We have also not boldly expanded the various forms of training, consequently, trade training needs have not been met.

The system of colleges is reducing the rate of training. Meanwhile, in Southeast Asia as well as throughout the world, an increasingly intense race is under way to raise the percentage of persons who have a college education (particularly among workers) and a postgraduate education. Ours is a country in which the number of college graduates per 10,000 persons of population is low. The quality of training is also low. The cadres we train lack dynamism in practical activities, do not adapt well to changes in production, in social life and are passive from a political standpoint. This is because their training is too narrow; because curricula have not been changed to keep pace with the advancement of science and technology in the world and are heavy in mandatory subjects but light in electives; because we have little by way of the conditions needed for practical training, practical application, experimentation and scientific research; and because teaching methods lean heavily toward disseminating the knowledge contained in textbooks, toward indoctrination and the imposition of knowledge. To a certain degree, both teachers and students lack regular contact with production and everyday life. Many cadres are quickly satisfied with what they have achieved and stop learning once they have a college diploma. We also have not attached importance to on-going or continuous training. This situation poses the danger of our knowledge "becoming outdated" and lagging far behind the pace of modern production, behind life itself, as well as the danger of we becoming trapped in the old way of thinking.

The ratio of cadres who have a postgraduate education to persons who have a college education is still very low. We are still confused and have not yet found a way to quickly increase the number of leading specialists. There is a rather large gap between the number of cadres trained in the natural and technical sciences and the number trained in the social sciences. Yet, there is still a very large shortage of cadres trained in the natural

sciences and the technical sciences. The corps of cadres trained in the social sciences is very thin, is weak and backward compared to general world standards. In many fields, we also lack theoretical cadres who have standardized functions, designers and managers. At the same time, there is also a shortage of industrial cadres who are highly qualified in "construction" in production, cultural cadres, education cadres...

Although we have built a unified national education system, this system has the significant drawbacks of being rigid and immobile. The internal components of the system are not closely connected and do not build upon or have an impact upon one another. The old system lacked a component to provide education to the working people on a regular basis.

We have given little attention to combining formal education with informal education. As an education sector of a highly informal nature, supplementary education is gradually losing its impact and faces the danger of disbanding at many places. The developing countries are attaching very much importance to informal education because it has advantages not afforded by the formal education system. It is "flexible" in the form of training and subject matter so that students can select the method of learning best suited to them. Moreover, informal education always closely ties the study of culture and science to the process of specialized and occupational training, consequently, it is very well suited to strata of workers who want to raise their level of education in order to improve their skills and bring themselves abreast of new production technology.

The system of grading and entrance and graduation examinations became outmoded and conservative. During the past several years, examinations and the grading system have been reformed on many different occasions. However, progress has been very slow and halting. As a result, entrance and graduation examinations are frequently terribly "distorted" by negative social phenomena that have infiltrated the examination room and examination council.

The evaluation of the learning process and examinations should be means by which the teaching-learning process is oriented toward the goals of education, by which all activities of the school are oriented toward implementing the party's principles of education: "Learning in conjunction with practice, education combined with productive labor, the school linked to society." But, in more than a few cases, these means become the ends of the student and the teacher.

We require that the school provide a comprehensive education but the method of evaluation and examinations encourage and sometimes force students to cram: in the last year of their level of education, both teachers and students alike focus solely on the examinations, study night and day and concentrate on "key" subjects. We require that schools provide more by way of an

education in labor, a general technical education and occupational counseling. But the closer they get to examination day, the more students cram, the more they study "everything," study "the entire cabinet of books." The current methods of evaluation and testing have distorted the goals and principles of education. As a result, they do not correctly reflect the students' level of knowledge because they do not properly combine evaluation over time with evaluation of the process and still lean heavily toward textbook knowledge while giving light attention to practical activities. Moreover, during the past several years, examinations have involved very large and unnecessary financial expenditures.

On the college level, linking the diploma to a job is not an approach that motivates the student to make the maximum effort in his studies. On the other hand, we have been lax in inspecting the use of college diplomas. Consequently, placing persons in jobs other than those for which they were trained is a rather widespread phenomenon in our society. In the field of postgraduate training, a diploma is sought simply for the sake of having a diploma and achieving the recognition it brings, which results in the contribution made by a person after his training to not be commensurate with the effort and money invested in the training process.

We displayed confusion when implementing the Political Bureau's resolution, first in our understanding of the goals of education and, later, in our understanding of the "technical standards" of educational reform, such as the steps and approach to be taken, the conditions required and so forth to achieve the goals set forth in the resolution. We must have the courage to face one fact, namely, that our previous forecasts concerning economic development were completely inaccurate. As a result, we assessed the situation and set goals for educational reform that were very much more optimistic than actual conditions allowed. The weak economy is tying the hands of education but also demands that the education system quickly train persons who possess the will and ability to resolve difficulties and advance the economy. In the face of this contradiction, we must rethink what we are doing, must adopt new thinking concerning education, must find new solutions.

In the 7 years that educational reform has been under way, we have "stood still" in many fields of education. The lack of progress for many years on the philosophical and social planes regarding the goals of education, the slowness with which educational goals have been concretized in textbooks, in each activity of the school, and the light attention to and ignorance of the technical nature of teacher training are indications of the stagnation in the reform of education. As regards training new style workers to build socialism, we have allowed many youths and teenagers to graduate from school and go into life with a very vague concept of and a passive attitude toward productive labor and working efficiently.

One major mistake has been made in the reform of education: the guidance provided has been simplistic and lacking in coordination and focus. As a result, the various levels carrying out educational reform have expended efforts and money and spent very much time on reforming education but have not achieved significant results. The "branches of education" have been thrown into a "campaign" without a plan for coordinating in combat. The reform of general school education has been under way for many years. But the reform of teacher training has been proceeding very slowly for a long time, which is not to mention the need for the reform of teacher training to be carried out ahead of the reform of education, in general. The reform of college and vocational education has not been coordinated with the reform of general school education. Generally school textbooks were written before an official conclusion was reached concerning the school year system and the system of schools and classes. Many college books do not fully reflect new achievements, new views and new concepts resulting from scientific-technical advances. In the teaching of communism, the school still leans toward indoctrinating students in general principles by means of very simplistic political slogans. The teaching of aesthetics and physical education have virtually been ignored due to the lack of the minimum conditions needed for these kinds of education.

One factor that has a decisive impact upon the overall quality of educational reform is that teachers are not given appropriate attention by society. More educators quit their jobs during the 1986-87 school year than in any previous school year. The standard of living of educators has declined to a level that is alarming. The need for a rather large number of educators, including college instructors, to work a second job has impeded efforts to standardize the corps of educators and bring their professional standards to the level demanded by educational reform. Meanwhile, very many general school and college students have no interest in their studies or are too lazy to study. It is very common for general school students to repeat a grade or quit school. Among adult students, there are serious complexes concerning their standard of living, their prospects for growth and their future job or occupation. Many young students quickly adopt a pragmatic way of life. All these factors have distorted the initial results of the reform of education.

The problem we face is the need to change the way we think, to adopt a new way of working and courageously search for a path that will bring education beyond the frustrations and stagnation being experienced today; to resolutely combat dogmatism and formalism, which have their roots in a rigid style of thinking and a way of working based on outmoded lessons, one characterized by empiricism and voluntarism.

From the time we laid the first theoretical base until Political Bureau Resolution 14-NQ/TU was promulgated, 20 years passed, 10 years have gone by since the first

successful pilot project in the implementation of this resolution on level I. At this rate, it will be another 10 years before we see the first products of the reform of general school education. But in these 10 years, we can, by taking different approaches, complete a very basic reform on a large scale from kindergarten to college. We must review the process of educational reform, determine the causes of stagnation, instability and the failure to achieve desired results and propose to the Central Committee necessary adjustments with a view toward bringing about new changes in education. Our way of thinking and working must be more practical, dynamic and effective.

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Some Thoughts on Solving the Grain and Food Problem in Our Country Today

42100002g Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 29-32

[Article by Professor Le Doan Dien, PhD, deputy director of the Agricultural Science-Technology Institute]

[Text] In the past 20 years, total grain output in the world has doubled. However, providing grain and food to our planet's growing population continues to be a difficult problem. At present, about 500 million persons in the world are starving. According to a forecast by the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the number of starving persons might be as high as 750 million by the year 2000. The shortage of grain has become serious: in 1983, nearly 20 million persons (including nearly 15 million children) in the world starved to death. Some 30 children die of starvation every minute. And, some 300 million dollars are spent each minute on war. Therefore, together with safeguarding peace and struggling against the arms race and the threat of nuclear war, providing a full supply of high quality grain and food products to mankind has truly become a strategic task of many nations and also an international problem.

In our country, the task of resolving the grain-food problem has been a task of our party for many years. This task was recorded in the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress as one of the three major economic programs in the initial stage of the period of transition.

The grain-food product program in our country is currently being drafted. However, in our opinion, the proposed guidelines, requirements and measures for resolving this problem only focus on the initial stage of the creation of products. Therefore, to insure that this draft is a serious scientific work, we feel that it is necessary to systematically research related problems, which includes the next stage in the process of producing agricultural products, that is, the stage of storing and processing agricultural products and insuring that the products which reach the hands of consumers are of high quality. This stage is called the "post-harvest stage" by scientists.

Together with raising crop yields, maintaining and improving the quality of agricultural products in the post-harvest stage are considered one measure that helps to rapidly increase grain-food output. And when, from the standpoint of crop and livestock yields, potentials have been fully developed, limiting the losses, both quantitative and qualitative, of agricultural products becomes a positive measure which enables us to achieve established targets in a highly efficient manner.

The argument presented above is based on the objective realities defined by the characteristics of agricultural products in the post-harvest stage. These products are mainly organic materials existing in the form of raw materials stored for consumption in production or everyday life. They continue to be strongly affected by the environment, particularly from a bio-chemical standpoint. Therefore, to preserve these products, to avoid natural destruction and other adverse external influences, man must make a positive impact upon these products. That is, scientific-technical measures must be employed to change the form of products in a direction that benefits the process of consuming for subsequent production as well as raises their use value. In agricultural production, it is easy to recognize the importance of "crop losses in fields" due to natural disasters, pests, and so forth (in the pre-harvest stage). As a result, many measures have been developed to prevent these losses. But few persons give attention to "crop losses within the home." However, the losses of agricultural products, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in this stage are also very large. Excluding cases in which all products are lost due to poor storage (flooding, lizards and worms, microorganisms and so forth), these losses usually account for as much as 25 percent of output. Each year, 15 to 18 percent of our country's rice crop, that is, about 2.4-2.9 million tons, is lost in this way. This is enough grain to feed more than 10 million persons per year. In the case of western potatoes, sweet potatoes, cassava, vegetables, fruit and so forth, these losses are even larger, an average of 30-35 percent, even as high as 55-60 percent at some cooperatives. Besides quantitative losses, qualitative losses have also caused serious consequences. For example, at some places, due to poor storage (improper temperature, high humidity, products being put into storehouses at temperatures higher than permitted...), the toxin aflatoxine has developed within kernels, causing major economic losses in export activities and adversely affecting the health of consumers. Within the livestock production sector, a similar situation exists. To increase hog weight by 1 kilogram, we only need to provide an additional 2.8-3.4 kilograms of nutritious feed of high quality (a balance of amino acids, protein and energy). But if we use feeds that are of poor quality (due to poor storage and processing), 2.5 to 3 times more feed must be consumed. In everyday life, we often encounter similar losses with many types of agricultural products (grain, food products, exports...) which cause economic harm to individual families and sectors and even to the national economy. In view of the important position and role of the post-harvest stage,

Soviet Academy of Sciences Academician Bakrovsky and many other scientists in the world have ranked the problem of providing a full supply of nutritious and high quality grain and food products to the future generations among the most important problems in developing production forces. At the same time, it is an important socio-economic issue of our times.

The economic losses caused by the failure to store, process and inspect the quality of agricultural products well in the post-harvest stage are due to many reasons. In our country, these reasons are, we feel, the following:

— First, we do not have a correct appreciation of the important position and role of the tasks to be performed in the post-harvest stage and do not clearly understand the close relationship between the pre-harvest stage and the post-harvest stage in the process of producing products. Even in the post-harvest stage, we have failed to establish a good reciprocal relationship among its elements and factors (storage-processing...). Therefore, in management, light attention is usually given to accountability for this stage. There have even been many cases in which the losses incurred in this stage have been very large but no one has been held materially accountable for them.

— Secondly, on the basis of this inadequate understanding, we have failed to attach importance to investing in the construction of material-technical bases for the storage and processing of products. Therefore, the agricultural product processing base in our country is very small. At some places, the technology being used is very backward and the infrastructure of production and means of transportation are also very underdeveloped and do not meet the requirements of the production and marketing of agricultural products. Consequently, the quantity of products processed from agricultural products in our country is small and these products lack variety. Agricultural by-products are not used efficiently. Livestock is not raised on mixed feed and animals consume much feed but grow slowly.

— Thirdly, we have yet to attach importance to researching and quickly applying the latest achievements of science and technology in the storage and processing of agricultural products. Our country currently has 20 institutes and research centers in the field of crop and livestock production in the pre-harvest stage but only 2 research institutes in the post-harvest field. And, the work of these two institutes only focuses on a number of products and components within the state-operated sector, not on solving problems raised by agricultural product storage, processing and quality control on a nationwide scale. No agency has been given the task of researching the elements of the post-harvest stage in a complete, coordinated and highly specialized manner. However, due to the requirements of each sector and unit, this work still must be performed. As a result, decentralization, the lack of coordination, duplication and so forth have caused major losses to the economy.

This situation continues unchanged and, if not appropriately resolved, it will make it difficult to achieve the targets of the grain-food products program.

Within the framework of the grain-food products and the exports programs, storing and processing agricultural products with the aims of maintaining and improving their quality, particularly the nutritional value and the commercial value of agricultural products, are of major significance in resolving the grain-food problem in our country. To perform the work involved in this stage well in the years ahead, allow us to boldly make the following several proposals:

1. We must correctly define the position of the post-harvest stage within our country's agriculture. In the immediate future, appropriate attention must be given to this stage so that we can immediately achieve those things that are within our reach. Scientific research in this stage must be considered as important as the research conducted in the pre-harvest stage and must be conducted by a comprehensive, well coordinated and highly specialized agency in order to lay the foundation for proposing useful measures that yield practical returns. The state, ministries and sectors should research and formulate appropriate policies and principles concerning the post-harvest stage with a view toward achieving results commensurate with the potentials of this stage.

2. This is a field of work that is related to many different sectors. In addition to the Ministries of Agriculture and Food Industry, the machine, power, architecture-building, communications-transportation, commerce and other sectors also play a certain role in this stage. The post-harvest stage is not only scientific-technical in nature, but is also of economic and social significance. As a result, it is a very complex stage and demands close coordination in the spirit of socialist cooperation among sectors.

3. Post-harvest technologies and the methods of storing and processing agricultural products with a view toward maintaining and improving their quality must be consistent with the current circumstances of our country and the limited investment capabilities of the state, particularly with regard to materials and energy.

In this field, it is necessary to apply the traditional experiences of the people on the basis of upgrading them to technical advances of a scientific nature. It must be recognized that combining the rudimentary with the modern where conditions permit and in a way that does not require large investments is an approach that will yield high economic returns and be readily accepted in production. In the immediate future, models of the storage and pre-processing of agricultural products on the family and cooperative scales which do not require large investments in equipment and energy must be given special attention and encouraged by means of

appropriate policies. Besides this, we should make selective and bold investments in modern technologies with the aim of promptly producing a number of products of high economic value for exportation (tea, coffee, etc.).

All specialists in the different fields of science (mechanical engineering, the processing and storage industry, physics, chemistry, bio-chemistry, microbiology, crop and livestock production techniques, storehouse design and so forth) must participate in the development of post-harvest technologies with a view toward promptly meeting the urgent needs of agriculture in our country, particularly in the storage and processing of subsidiary food crops (western potatoes, sweet potatoes, cassava and corn).

4. Depending upon the specific circumstances of each locality, post-harvest technologies should be applied on different scales, from small scale on the scope of individual families, groups of families and cooperatives to medium scale on the scope of several cooperatives or an entire district, with the aims of thoroughly developing and making full use of the existing materials, energy, capital and labor of localities and building momentum for the development of the local handicraft trades and local industry. Storing and processing agricultural products must become vital needs of producers and part of the farming habits of farmers. We must successfully implement the slogan "the state stores, the state processes agricultural products." Our country has little land and is densely populated. Abundant potentials lie in its labor. This post-harvest stage can be a field which absorbs the idle labor of farmers in the production of material wealth for society, thereby helping to rapidly increase the total output of grain and food products and broaden the variety of consumer and export goods.

5. The post-harvest stage must be an important component of the agricultural system. It must be very closely combined with the livestock sector, the forest industry and fishing in order to make full use of the by-products of agricultural product processing while avoiding pollution of the environment and stabilizing the ecological balance, thereby actively helping to develop a diversified agriculture and successfully implement the grain-food program set forth in the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress.

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Some New Factors of the Economic Management Mechanism as Seen in the Experience of Model Units

42100002h Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 33-35

[Article by Tran Ngoc Hien, MS in Economics]

[Text] Since the early 1980's, there has been more within our country's economy than just the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. Life had

discovered the path to be taken by the economy, a path that has since been gradually reflected in a number of policies and positions of the party and state. This restructuring has led to the emergence of many economic models in all fields. The grain business policy that replaced the grain subsidy policy led to the birth of the Ho Chi Minh Grain Corporation. Replacing subsidies with self-supply and self-financing created a model in the exportation of marine products: the Slanpodex Corporation. Product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers in agriculture, which replaced egalitarian distribution and the piecework mechanism, together with a number of other policies created the conditions for models which integrate state-operated enterprises, collectives, families and private individuals within agriculture in many localities, etc.

These models have met stern challenges during the past 6 years and remain solidly in place because they embody the rudiments of a new management mechanism.

The advanced models and the new management mechanism which were born of the sharp economic contradictions of the years from 1978 to 1980 and which have resolved these contradictions to some extent provide us with good experiences that suggest good ways to solve the pressing problems being faced in management. The test of practice shows the major lessons and experiences gained from the advanced models to be:

A. They guarantee dialectical unity between centralized management and the broader practice of democracy. This has been a difficult problem for many years because democratic centralism has been based on the administrative-subsidized approach. However, within the advanced models, democratic centralism is based on the socialist business approach, which makes it possible to establish the correct relationship among the interests of the central level, the locality, the basic unit and the individual laborer, among the parties participating in the reproduction process.

B. They utilize the dominant role played by the state-operated economy in integrating the various segments of the economy. This is also a problem that has remained unsolved for many years. This has mainly been due to the fact that the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has tied the hands of the state-operated economy and, on the other hand, has given light attention to utilizing and carrying out the socialist transformation of the self-employed and private segments of the economy because the state-operated economy has been built in a manner isolated from the other segments of the economy and its development has been associated with superior features that are superior in form only. However, the new mechanism within the advanced models has truly developed the role of initiative in production and business through the relationships between goods and money and in a wide variety of forms, especially various forms of circulation and services for production and consumers, the application of

technical advances, etc. In economic integration and joint businesses, state-operated units are gradually becoming the solid bridge between the state and millions of basic units in the household, private and self-employed segments of the economy.

C. They insure that production relations are, in practical terms, compatible with the requirements of production forces. The important breakthrough made by the new management mechanism at the advanced units has been to liberate production forces that are divided and impeded in their development. The liberation of production forces has raised the need to promote and improve the new management mechanism. In the process of adapting to the demands of production forces, the new management mechanism has gradually been coordinated and defined in policies. As a result, this new mechanism has displayed its character and potential strength and created a new position and new forces with which to gradually make inroads against the negative impact of the old mechanism.

D. This new mechanism has constantly raised business results in conjunction with giving attention to solving social problems. These are its special strengths. Within the new mechanism, social issues are closely tied to economic issues. Resolving social problems is considered a requirement in the nature of a goal of management activities. Combining the resolution of economic problems with the resolution of social problems under the conditions of our country has become one of the very strong forces behind efforts to develop the economy and improve management.

E. The advanced units also provide us with experience in establishing the correct relationship between the domestic economy and the overseas economy by viewing international cooperation and exports-imports in a new way. For many years, poor returns from overseas economic activities have deprived us of an exceedingly strong lever, of a factor of decisive significance in economic development within our country. The effective overseas economic activities of the advanced models show: only an economic organization that has a correct management mechanism can develop the strength of the international factor, can quickly "open the domestic economy and attract customers overseas" and take the economy beyond the difficulties it faces.

Within the new mechanism, the laws of a commodity economy and the economic laws of socialism are combined. In the initial stage, the demand of the economic laws of socialism are manifested through the law of value. Under these conditions, the law of value gradually assumes a new social meaning and character. By making use of this combined impact, the advanced units have correctly solved many problems, such as problems related to the plan, the market, capital, etc. Within this mechanism, the market is the prerequisite for reproduction, with the direct role being played by the regional market, the local market and the export-import market. The problems of prices, wages and money are resolved in a coordinated manner in accordance with the requirements of reproduction. Planning is very important and necessary in determining the optimum

returns from diverse business activities. Therefore, these advanced units are both under the impact of the market and have an increasingly strong impact upon the market. As the new mechanism develops, they will be able to regulate the market with increasing initiative. This result of the new mechanism is totally different from the consequences of the old mechanism: increasing isolation from the market and the more the market is managed by purely administrative measures, the more units are caught unprepared by the market and the forces of ungoverned spontaneity.

One of the difficulties in business activities is that of obtaining capital. In contrast to the old mechanism of waiting for an allotment of capital, the new mechanism primarily involves creating and recovering capital by means of business activity. This new mechanism has displayed a strong ability to attract capital from throughout society by means of numerous transitional forms in production and circulation that are closely tied to the needs of society and to the market. At present, the new management mechanism and the fundamentals of this mechanism described above exist within the advanced units as various management models. Eleven difficult years (1976-1986) were required and a price had to be paid in order for models to emerge on the basic level, on the area and local level and begin to emerge on the sector level. This is the general and most significant economic achievement of the new mechanism. Improving this mechanism further will build a solid base for resolving pressing problems and lay the foundation for future development.

Under the impact of the new mechanism in a number of fields and localities, there has been an initial restructuring of production in the direction of developing a planned commodity economy. Thus, a relationship of stimulating each other's development has emerged between the management mechanism and the structure of the economy. This is the law of the socialization of labor and production, which must be recognized and applied in the management activities of the state.

In view of the facts presented above, we can be confident that we are fully capable of consciously building a new and effective economic management mechanism if we review practice, find ways to improve the micro-management mechanism, to take a step in the establishment of a suitable macro-management mechanism and create a favorable business environment for the basic level.

The birth and initial strengthening of the new management mechanism within the advanced units also confirm a factor tantamount to a law, namely, that the formation of the new management mechanism must go hand in hand with a new organizational apparatus, with key cadres who possess leadership and management skills that are commensurate with the need for a restructuring of a revolutionary nature.

The Introduction of Scientific-Technical Advances in Agricultural Production in Dan Phuong District
42100002i Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 36-39, 80

[Article by Chu Thai Thanh]

[Text] Dan Phuong, the key district in the high yield rice growing area of the municipality of Hanoi, is one of the districts that has boldly introduced scientific-technical advances in production and everyday life.

Over the years, particularly since 1984, the movement to apply scientific-technical advances in Dan Phuong has been developing strongly, has developed in depth and become a part of life. The scores of research projects and scientific-technical advances that have been applied in fields and livestock pens have made important contributions to the achievement of encouraging economic returns. Overcoming their initial skepticism and confusion, the people of Dang Phuong have increasingly turned to science and technology. In Dan Phuong today, science has come to production and production is closely tied to science. They stimulate each other's development. The following figures are sufficient to give us some idea of this development.

	1981	1985
Rice Yield	6.89 tons/hectare	10.24 tons/hectare
Corn Yield	17.65 quintals/hectare	40.55 quintals/hectare
Grain output per capita	260 kg	366 kg
Grain output delivered to the state	4,100 tons	6,307 tons
Total number of hogs	16,500	21,000
Percentage of crossbred hogs	60 %	95 %
Market weight of hogs	55 kg per hog	80 kg per hog
Pork sold to the state	493 tons	585 tons
Total number of buffalo, cattle	1,200 buffalo	1,600 buffalo
	3,000 head cattle	3,800 head cattle
Percentage of crossbred Sindhi cattle	30 %	70 %
Value of small industry, handicraft output	14 million (old money)	10.7 million (new money)

A closer look shows that the introduction of scientific-technical advances in production and everyday life in Dan Phuong has had a profound impact in many areas.

First, it has stimulated the development of production forces and material and technical bases. Due to the requirements involved in applying science and technology, additional livestock breeding stations and seed

stations have been constructed in Dan Phuong in recent years. State-operated enterprises and corporations and the systems of scientific-technical services, roads, granaries and drying yards have been improved and expanded. The basic units that repair machines and produce improved tools and hand tools have been strengthened. The electric power system and the networks of pump stations and canals and ditches have been rebuilt and developed with a view toward fully and promptly meeting irrigation and drainage needs in a manner compatible with the reallocation of crops, the rescheduling of growing seasons and the restructuring of intensive cultivation.

Secondly, it has helped to improve and raise the quality of cooperative management. Although product contracts have been implemented in agriculture, the management board still manages the work of the cooperative in accordance with a common schedule. This is because the cooperative controls scientific-technical work and the families accepting fields under contracts are compelled to comply with "technical necessities" concerning seed, fertilizer, irrigation and the prevention and control of pests. As a result, they are compelled to comply with the common farming practices and schedule of the cooperative. As the scope of the introduction of scientific-technical advances has broadened, the cooperative has had to coordinate and manage production in a closer and more dynamic manner and the new production relations have been strengthened and developed.

Thirdly, the introduction of scientific-technical advances in production and everyday life in Dan Phuong has helped to mold the new worker. In fact, the majority of the members of the cooperatives in Dan Phuong has an elementary knowledge of science and technology. They have quickly accepted the scientific-technical advances introduced in agricultural production. They have gradually abandoned the backward habits and superstitions left behind by many years of small-scale production, abandoned their disorganized way of working, their conservative thinking and so forth and adopted a style of working and living patterned after the industrial style and now work in a technical, disciplined and highly productive manner.

But scientific-technical advances in Dan Phuong did not begin making the positive impact they are making today at the very outset. As a densely populated district (76 sq km for 96,000 people, 88,000 of whom work in agriculture, and 4,300 hectares of farmland, an average of 510 sq m per capita) that had to concern itself with solving the pressing problems of life, fulfilling obligations to the state and rapidly accumulating capital in order to carry out expanded reproduction, Dan Phuong quickly charted the course it had to take to survive as rapidly introducing scientific-technical advances in production, first in agricultural production in order to rapidly raise labor productivity and produce very many products per unit of land.

But what had to be done to introduce scientific-technical advances in production rapidly and steadily? Dan Phuong has restructured production by economic zone; made strong improvements to its organizational and cadre work; improved management from the district to the cooperative levels; improved the system of economic levers; and raised the cultural and scientific-technical standards of cadres and the masses at basic units. In 1984, Dan Phuong established a district science-technology committee. Each of the 16 village-size cooperatives has a science-technology section which serves as the staff of the director and guides cooperative members in production. The district has mobilized scientific-technical cadres of the various sectors on the district level and at cooperatives, on the central level and within Hanoi to carry out numerous projects in the introduction of scientific-technical advances in agricultural production. All these projects have supported the district's main goals: restructuring the allocation of crops and achieving a high level of intensive cultivation with the aim of raising crop yields. This is also the prerequisite to developing livestock production and the other areas of production.

Dan Phuong attaches foremost importance to crop varieties and livestock breeds. The guidance it provides in this area is comprehensive. Together with expanding the amount of area under the cultivation of new, high yield varieties of rice, Dan Phuong still considers it important to select and maintain a number of special product varieties of the locality. In order for the new allocation of rice varieties to be successful, the district has had to allocate each variety on the basis of the agricultural soil map, seasons, material bases and farming standards of each zone and each cooperative. For example, the main variety of spring rice, Nong Nghiep 8, is raised on 80 percent of the land under cultivation. During the 10th-month season, the CR203 and the X1 varieties are planted on 70 percent of the land under cultivation. The main variety of corn, VM1, is raised in the fall-winter and winter-spring seasons while MSB49 is raised during the winter and late spring seasons. Dan Phuong has also widely applied scientific-technical advances in the improvement and reproduction of livestock, poultry and fish with the aim of strongly developing livestock production among cooperative member families on the basis of the VAC [truck farming, pisciculture, animal husbandry] ecosystem model.

Each cooperative in Dan Phuong has a seed production unit to provide a full supply of high quality seed. The district guides the Dan Phuong and Song Phuong Cooperatives in producing technical rice seed and supplying seed of new varieties and grade I seed to units in and outside the district.

Dan Phuong has also attached very much importance to applying scientific-technical advances in the construction of water conservancy projects, the improvement of soil, the application of fertilizer and the implementation of planting schedules. Soil once arid and depleted has

now become good soil. The people of Dan Phuong have invested millions of dong and millions of mandays in water conservancy projects. Once dependent upon nature, today 98 percent of the district's farmland is effectively irrigated and drained in accordance with the requirements in each stage of growth of crops. Dan Phuong has also attached importance to developing sources of, processing and utilizing fertilizers, particularly sources of organic fertilizer, in order to provide the correct amount of nutrition to each crop type during each period of development. In the fertilization of rice, a base application of fertilizer and one application of additional fertilizer are applied under the guideline "heavy at the start of the season, light near the end" with fertilizer being deeply incorporated in the soil. During the past several seasons, as a result of applying fertilizer in exact accordance with technical standards, rice plants have not lodged despite the application of heavy amounts of fertilizer. Planting on schedule and at a density determined by the type of soil, the variety of rice and the season of the year have created the best possible conditions for rice to grow quickly and bear high yields.

Dan Phuong has attached special importance to pest prevention and control techniques. Despite experiencing difficulties obtaining pesticides, Dan Phuong has learned to tap the experience of the masses and has mobilized them to participate in exterminating pests and protecting crops. Dan Phuong has established a widespread technical network consisting of pest prevention and control units, forecasting groups and pesticide spraying sections at cooperatives. It has also adopted an appropriate incentive policy concerning this force. At the Tan Lap, Song Phuong and Phuong Dinh Cooperatives, each pesticide sprayer is paid 2 days worth of workpoints and 50 dong per day of work and issued one set of labor safety clothing once every 2 years. As a result, each person sprays an average of 30 mau per hour. In addition, the cooperatives of Dan Phuong have also signed responsibility and insurance contracts for all land under the cultivation of rice with the district's crop insurance corporation.

At each cooperative of Dan Phuong District, one sees that the technical sciences have been closely combined with management science: importance is attached to management measures and accounting, with attention given to policies that provide material incentives, closely tie interests to accountability and encourage the application of scientific-technical advances in all aspects of agricultural production.

As a district in the outskirts of the municipality that lies between main roads, Dan Phuong has skillfully taken advantage of these favorable conditions to establish economic ties with scientific agencies on the central level and within Hanoi for the purpose of introducing scientific-technical advances in production. The Dan Phuong, Phuong Dinh, Song Phuong and Tan Lap Cooperatives are establishing close ties with the Grain Institute, the

Agricultural Science Institute, the Agricultural Chemistry and Soil Institute, the Jose Marti College of Agriculture...to introduce new varieties and new techniques in production. Every project in scientific-technical advances is carried out together by scientific-technical cadres of the institute, the district and the cooperative. The standards of a project are: conducting an experiment and then building a model that yields high results before applying the advance on a broad scale. At first, not everyone had faith in the introduction of scientific-technical advances. Some persons even ridiculed this approach. But as clear results have become evident, people have rushed to apply these advances without further need for encouragement, propaganda or persuasion. The practical models based on these projects in scientific-technical advances have encouraged the establishment of ties between the locality and scientific agencies and made the persons engaged in scientific work accountable for final results. As a result, by 1985, all cooperatives had high yield fields and were producing 5 tons of rice per hectare during the 10th-month season, 7-8 tons per hectare during the spring season and 5 to 7 tons of corn per hectare per season. The high yield western potato, soybean, mulberry, peanut and garlic growing areas have achieved yields far superior to non-intensive cultivation. Facts have shown that establishing models of intensive cultivation is an effective way to provide guidance and has been a secret of success in the intensive cultivation movement in Dan Phuong in recent years.

To introduce the scientific-technical advances that have been introduced in agricultural production within the district today, Dan Phuong has had to overcome more than a few difficulties and setbacks. Dan Phuong's assets are that it has dared to think and act, has always tried to be creative and has drawn from experience in order to continue to make progress. It has built a consensus between the sectors within the district and basic units, coordinated scientific activities, built new material-technical bases, established a new style of organization and management and adopted new procedures and policies. These are important premises of a decisive nature to introducing scientific-technical advances in agricultural production and creating the conditions for making further progress in the years ahead.

There are persons who maintain that many of Dan Phuong's cooperatives have reached a plateau in terms of rice yields, that if a different approach is not taken, Dan Phuong will cease to move ahead and begin to slip backwards. The fact of the matter is that Dan Phuong still has much "room" to introduce science and technology.

Dan Phuong is reorganizing its production in the direction of restructuring the allocation of crops and the growing seasons: more land is being put under the cultivation of summer and summer-fall soybeans raised between winter-spring and fall-winter corn crops. More land is being put under the cultivation of corn and beans

on two-crop rice fields and the production of jute as a companion crop of corn is being expanded. Efforts are being made to raise corn yields to 40 quintals per hectare per season or more. Rice yields will be stabilized at 10 tons per hectare at all cooperatives and raised further through intensive cultivation. The intensive cultivation of three crops (two rice crops plus one corn crop) will be expanded in order to achieve a grain output of 13-14 tons per hectare. In addition to main varieties, new short-term, high yield varieties of rice, such as KV10 and IR64, will be introduced to shorten the growing season and expand the cultivation of fall-winter corn.

Dan Phuong is also opening new prospects in the application of scientific-technical advances in the small industry and handicraft sectors in order to maintain existing sectors and trade, develop new sectors and introduce new products of high quality.

Promoting the intensive cultivation of export crops such as western potatoes, peanuts, castor oil plants, soybeans, garlic and peppermint with a view toward achieving higher yields, output and quality and creating sources of export goods is also a direction in which Dan Phuong is making positive efforts.

Of course, to achieve these targets, Dan Phuong must continue to display initiative and creativity; adopt new thinking, particularly economic thinking; adopt the new style of work; do a better job of managing science and technology within the district; further intensify the movement among the masses to become involved in science and technology; further expand its ties with scientific agencies; make full use of its intellectual potentials; and fully develop the potentials that lie in its land.

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Making and Perfecting Laws

42100002j Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 40-43

[Article by Le Duc Tiet]

[Text] In our work of making and perfecting laws, the following several things are evident:

1. Our state does not have all the specific laws it needs to provide a uniform legal basis upon which the job involved in the management of the economy and society is performed.

In management, many agencies and organizations of the state never go beyond such guidelines and slogan as "we are here to serve the customer," "a happy customer when he arrives, a satisfied customer when he leaves." "a model counter" and so forth. But anyone who travels on public transportation is upset by the lack of order and

sanitation, by the irresponsible attitude of personnel. It can be said that the majority of the customers at state stores is bothered and angered by the uncivilized state of commerce.

The state apparatus is a large and complex apparatus. It exerts an impact upon each activity of society, of the citizen every minute of every hour. But more than a few sectors and levels do not have all the legal documents with clearly stated provisions they need or, if they do, the functions, tasks, authority and responsibilities stipulated in these documents are counter-productive to some extent.

The mechanism "the party leads, the state manages, the people exercise ownership" has not been codified within the organizational structure of the state, in the management of society and the economy or in the regulations and everyday procedures of party committees, state agencies and the mass organizations from the central to the basic levels.

As long as the management we provide is not based on the law and work is coordinated by "sitting down and discussing it," as long as we do not have all the laws we need, we will lack the legal basis we need in the struggle to abolish the practice of working in any way seen fit, working with disregard for the law.

2. Laws have been revised and amended slowly.

Lenin pointed out: "The law cannot lag behind everyday life. Rather, it must quickly record the new requirements and trends of society in order to adjust the new relations of society in the most effective way possible." (1) "Only when it promulgates laws to satisfy the expectations and hopes of the broad masses can the administration erect milestones along the path of development of new ways of living." (2)

In our country, laws have been amended and revised slowly. The fact that laws are backward and outmoded is one of the causes of the lack of uniformity in management and has given rise to localism, parochialism and the practice of being lenient and flexible in the application of the law. But there is also the phenomenon of laws going beyond socio-economic conditions as a result of reflecting a number of economic policies and positions that are subjective and impetuous in nature. Such laws, even if strictly enforced, only remain in effect for a short time and are, sooner or later, rejected by the realities of life. Another aspect of this problem of laws being revised and amended slowly is that many difficulties are still being encountered in planning the making of laws. It was not until 35 years after it came into existence that our state began to plan legislative work. Even the 1981-1985 5-Year Legislative Plan has not been fully completed. The reasons for this slowness have not been revised nor has a serious effort been made to learn from experience in order to correct them.

3. The science of law, in general, and legislative science, in particular, have not kept pace with the demands of socio-economic construction and development or the management requirements of the state. In the course of building and consolidating the revolutionary administration since 1945, the science of law, in general, and legislative science, in particular, in Vietnam should at least have been developed in a manner commensurate with the revolutionary achievements recorded in the other fields. However, the science of law has not been dealt with as a science in our country.

Many party members and state cadres, including some party cadres in high positions, still do not have a full or proper appreciation of the role and impact of revolutionary law or its scientific and unified nature. Many persons still lack a basic, minimum knowledge of the law and their consciousness concerning the socialist system of law is very low. In 1979, speaking at the ceremony held to mark the opening of the Hanoi College of Law, Pham Van Dong said: "Following a long period of more than 30 years, our country now has its first college of law. We have had to pay a high price for this slowness."

Compared to the other social sciences and the natural sciences, the science of law has not only failed to keep pace, but even the various fields within the science of law have not developed in a balanced manner. These fields are not coordinated with nor do they support one another.

In the more than 40 years since seizing power, we have just now promulgated our first code of law, the Criminal Code. But we have yet to promulgate a code of criminal procedure. Therefore, the Criminal Code lacks the legal basis needed to be seriously enforced. To meet today's needs, the state must promulgate many more legal documents, such as economic laws, labor laws, administrative laws, etc. The slowness in making laws is partly the responsibility of legal agencies and cadres.

A socialist system of law is considered complete when it meets the following requirements:

— When the revolutionary tasks set by the party for each stage of the revolution are correctly, fully and promptly defined in laws.

In the current situation, the 10 points enumerated in the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress and the 7 matters concerning the main guidelines and targets of socio-economic development in the 5 years from 1986 to 1990 must quickly be codified in laws in order to lay a unified legal foundation for managing all the work of the state. This codification must reflect uniformity and balance and insure that the various fields of law are well coordinated and constitute a system.

— When the law is stable and dynamic.

Stability and dynamism are the dialectical unity of the law. Rigidity and instability in the law cause much harm from the standpoint of the effectiveness of state management. To achieve this stability and dynamism, the law must correctly reflect the movement and development of the objective laws of society in each period of our country and support the requirements of the lines and policies of the party. At the same time, laws must be made on the basis of the experience gained in making laws and enforcing them in everyday life. With our country experiencing socio-economic changes, the legal standards we establish must play the role of "guiding the actions of everyone."

— When laws are unified and balanced.

The laws of the country, from the basic law, the Constitution, to sub-legal documents, such as the internal rules and regulations of the administration on the basic level, must be unified and balanced. This is the prerequisite to uniformity in the activities of the state apparatus and the correct implementation of the principle of democratic centralism.

— When laws are made in exact accordance with legislative technical requirements, meet all standards of a law and are clear in content, precise in language and highly general in nature. The fields of law that make up the system of law must be clearly defined from the standpoint of their scope, extent and the matters regulated by each and must be developed uniformly and in a way in which they support one another.

Perfection is exhibited by a system of law when its level of codification is high. An ever increasing number of laws is needed because the development of economic and social activities is increasingly diverse and broad and more relations in need of regulation are emerging with each passing day. The way to reduce the excessive number of legal documents is not by limiting the promulgation of or refusing to promulgate necessary legal documents, but mainly by raising the level of codification of the law. The lowest form of codification, systematizing the law, involves routinely reexamining documents that have been promulgated in order to eliminate duplication and contradictions in documents and clauses, eliminate outmoded documents and clauses, revise and amend clauses and recombine them in the form of current documents to lay the basis for comparison and investigation in everyday application. The higher form is the making of codes of law. In countries that have a complete system of law, the law mainly takes the form of codes. The number of separate laws diminishes.

To increase the rate at which the law is brought to perfection, we must take a new approach in the drafting of laws and in the procedures by which legal documents are considered, approved and promulgated.

According to Article 83 of the Constitution, drafting and amending the Constitution and making and amending laws are part of the authority of the National Assembly. But the National Assembly holds only two sessions per year and must perform many jobs during each session. It cannot, therefore, spend much time on considering and ratifying laws. Since 1981, our National Assembly has promulgated one code of law and nine laws. During the same period, the Council of State has promulgated 13 regulations. Thus, compared to needs, the number of laws and regulations promulgated by the National Assembly and Council of State is still small. If, in view of the current situation, we do not intensify the effort to draft, approve and promulgate laws by the authorized agencies, it will be difficult to solve the problem of not having enough of certain kinds of laws but having too many of other kinds. Of importance is the need for the Council of Ministers to consider planning legislative work to be a central task. Depending upon their function, tasks and the responsibility assigned to them, the agencies of all levels and sectors within the state apparatus must plan the drafting of the laws of their level or sector. We should also restructure the organizations which draft laws and change the procedures by which legal documents are considered, approved and promulgated. The drafting of codes of law, laws and regulations should be assigned to "drafting committees" appointed by the Council of State, not to the ministries. The purpose here is to avoid the "conflict of interest" of having persons draft a law that they will also enforce. The members of these drafting committees should be persons who personally conduct the research required to draft laws and consist of experienced lawyers, technicians and social activists. Arranging for opinions to be contributed concerning the drafts of laws and compiling these opinions must be done by the drafting committees of the National Assembly. These committees would only be temporary organizations. The Judiciary Committee of the National Assembly must be assigned additional personnel and begin conducting activities on a regular basis in keeping with the demands of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly. The Judiciary Committee should regularly work with the "drafting committees" to draft codes, laws and regulations. This committee should be the agency which decides when the draft of a legal document can be presented to the Political Bureau and the Secretariat prior to a session of the National Assembly and should be responsible for reporting to the National Assembly its opinions concerning the draft laws presented by the drafting committees to the National Assembly for its consideration and approval. Only in this way can the National Assembly consider and adopt more laws during each of its sessions.

The drafting and promulgation of sub-legal documents should be carried out by the agencies within the executive system, from the Council of Ministers to the ministries and the people's committees on the various levels. Sub-legal documents in the field of management of any sector or level should be drafted by that sector or level. The Supreme People's Organ of Control should have the

responsibility and authority to call for the revising of sub-legal documents which conflict with the law.

From the standpoint of its organizational and regulatory impact, socialist law is the "glue" that cements the party, the state and the people in one solid bloc. Therefore, making and perfecting laws demand contributions by all agencies of the state and the various sectors and levels and by the broad masses. At the same time, they demand research and serious efforts on the part of legal agencies and the persons who make laws.

Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Russian version, Volume 36, p 594.

2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 35, p 64.

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Socio-economic Policy and the Mobilization of Youths

42100002k Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 87 pp 44-48

[Article by Bui Ngoc Trinh, assistant editor-in-chief of TAP CHI THANH NIEN]

[Text] During the past several years, we have had a number of opportunities to exchange opinions concerning the question of how to launch spirited emulation movements among youths. Many comrades have touched upon the scale of the movement, saying, for example, that in addition to the general movement, the three assaults of collective ownership, there should also be numerous branch movements, numerous grassroots movements. Many persons have given their attention to the form and methods of building movements, such as the art of creating slogans, the art of launching movements, the art of conducting preliminary and final reviews, etc. However, there still has not been much thorough discussion of the moving force behind movements, which is the most basic and decisive factor. Without a strong force emerging among the masses, no strong, widespread or lasting movement can be generated, regardless of how appropriate its form and powerful its slogans might be. The best that can be achieved is to temporarily generate a movement among some activists, which then quickly declines.

Thus, what are these forces? One of the most important, in my opinion, is correct socio-economic policies of the state which reflect and guarantee the political interests and the socio-economic interests of millions of workers (including youths).

Some comrades ask how, before seizing power, the party was able to launch strong revolutionary movements and build them into high tides. True, when the party's

activities were still clandestine, it could not enact socio-economic policies through an administration. However, it did know how to adopt correct economic and political slogans. As a result, it mobilized the masses to follow the party in making revolution. Not stopping at economic slogans, the party steadfastly enlightened and led the masses in the struggle to seize political power. Only by seizing revolutionary power could the party abolish national oppression and economic exploitation. The revolutionary high tides of the masses in 1930-31 and 1936-39 and the 1945 general uprising objectively reflected the combination of the political need to seize power and achieve independence in order to throw off the yoke of slavery and the need to take back food from the hands of the rulers in order to escape the famine that threatened the lives of tens of millions of persons.

However, when the August Revolution was successful and our party seized power, the socio-economic policies of the new state led by the party had a direct impact upon mass movements, upon civilian proselyting, in general, and youth work, in particular. In the two wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors, our state, in order to mobilize manpower and materiel to support the war effort, promulgated major policies on increasing production, practicing frugality, reducing land rents, reducing interest rates and carrying out agricultural reform, on industrial and commercial taxes, on rear area work, etc. These policies reflected the demands of political tasks at that time and satisfied, to some extent, the socio-economic interests of the working people. The mass organizations within the Front made every effort to mobilize their members to implement these policies. And, these policies provided a solid base for successive widespread revolutionary movements of the masses to emerge.

In fact, under the brutal circumstances of war, we lacked all the conditions needed to care for the people and could not give appropriate attention to the economic interests of the worker. There were even times when our state had to mobilize very large contributions by our people. However, our people willingly made these contributions for the sake of the independence and freedom of the fatherland, were always ready to sacrifice their lives and property and never gave any thought to who stood to gain or lose. Back then, mass movements were more under the impact of the laws of war than the impact of economic laws.

However, since 30 April 1985, when we embarked on the period of socialist construction nationwide and socio-economic development became our direct and central task, economic laws have become the primary laws affecting social life. Today, if economic policies were formulated only on the basis of mobilizing maximum contributions by the people as we did during the war or only on the basis of subjective desires not compatible with the economic laws that exist during the period of

transition, we would not only fail to inspire mass movements, but would also dampen the zeal of the masses and destroy the motive forces behind movements.

In contrast to the other strata of the people, youths are rich in enthusiasm. In more than a few cases, youths, particularly young activists, participate in an emulation movement without demanding that economic interests of theirs be satisfied. Ordinarily, however, in order for a youth movement to be a stable and permanent movement, it is necessary to take their economic interests into consideration. To attract large numbers of youths to economic and social activities under current conditions, our state must adopt correct socio-economic policies, policies which satisfy the interests and are consistent with the requirements and aspirations of the young.

In recent years, we have heard more than a few criticisms to the effect that the Youth Union has not been able to generate strong emulation movements among youths. The reason usually given is the weakness of Youth Union organizations. I am not going to say that the organizations of the Youth Union, especially those on the basic level, are truly solid and strong and are now fully capable of launching major emulation movements. But let us assume that the Youth Union's organizations are solid and strong. Can the Youth Union promote movements ad infinitum merely through will power and zeal if socio-economic policies are incomplete and incorrect, if these policies do not create the forces behind movements and even impede the activism of the masses? No, it cannot. To do this, specific and correct socio-economic policies of the state plus extensive efforts on the part of the Youth Union are needed.

At present, our state still lacks many socio-economic policies that are capable of tapping the zeal and potential of youths. For example, labor and jobs are pressing problems to youths but the impact of policies in resolving these problems is very weak. At a time when the surplus youth labor force in the countryside numbers in the millions, the state still has not adopted policies that provide reasonable incentives and protection to expand the export handicraft trades with the aim of providing jobs to hundreds of thousands of youths. Nor does it have a suitable policy for investing in new economic zones with a view toward bringing about major relocations of the population from the lowlands to the mountains, from the North to the Central Highlands and the Mekong Delta in order to develop land and natural resources. During its early years, the assault youth organization showed itself to be both efficient and effective in mobilizing youths to volunteer to build new economic zones and in shifting the focus of its activities to state farms and forestry sites and enterprises. But the state again has failed to promulgate uniform regulations concerning these youths and has no policy to provide them with incentives or support, consequently, the number of assault youths has risen very slowly and not many jobs have been provided to youths.

In the municipalities and cities, as everyone knows, very large numbers of youths are unemployed. There are more than 200,000 unemployed youths in Ho Chi Minh City and nearly 100,000 in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province. Phan Thiet, a small city, has 10,500 unemployed youths. The need to provide jobs for urban youths has become critical. But the state has not adopted appropriate policies to mobilize capital of the people to use along with the resources of the state to build consumer goods production units or to provide technical assistance and other necessary conditions to production cooperation teams and private households so that they can develop their trades and absorb much young labor. Labor cooperation with foreign countries is a good way to gradually reduce the number of unemployed. However, the impact of this policy has also been very weak. Our country currently has some 50,000 young laborers working overseas. Each year, they contribute tens of millions of rubles to our state. But the state has yet to adopt reasonable regulations on the selection of these persons or regulations which encourage them to bring needed products back to our country. There is also a lack of tax policies aimed at regulating their income. As a result, we have impeded the exportation of labor and limited our ability to provide jobs.

On the cultural and social front, the policies of the state fail to actively assist students in selecting an occupation when they reach the end of their basic general school education nor do the policies of the state strongly encourage students to study a trade and find a job on their own in the process of completing their middle school education. The majority of current regulations leans heavily toward encouraging the study of academic subjects and taking tests to move on to a high level of education. Meanwhile, the ability of the college and vocational middle school sector to accept students is very small compared to needs and our ability to utilize persons once they have been trained is even smaller. In the 1985-1986 school year, some 8,000 students graduated from the 17 colleges and academies in and around Hanoi. However, only 2,000 of these persons received jobs. The remaining 6,000 persons plus the unemployed graduates of past years bring the total number of college and academy graduates who are unemployed to tens of thousands. This situation has adversely affected the thinking, feelings and way of life of a considerable number of youths. Moreover, the lack of social fairness due to a number of unreasonable policies has exacerbated the difficulties and negative phenomena within society. For example, in more than a few cases, a good, well behaved student who is accepted into a domestic college must do without and study hard but is very likely to find himself unemployed when he graduates. But a friend of his who fails both the college and vocational middle schools entrance examinations is selected to study a trade overseas. By the time he completes this training, he has a considerable amount of capital, an amount difficult for an honest worker at home to obtain. With this capital and his newly acquired skills, it is not very difficult for this person to find work when he

returns home. Sometimes, this person is even ready to abandon the trade in which he was trained to find a place within a "lucrative" sector in order to make even more!

A similar "tragedy" also befalls some youths who temporarily set their education aside in order to fulfill a military obligation and defend the fatherland. Many of these youths are very intelligent and brave and record achievements in very difficult places. However, once they complete their tour of duty and return home, they encounter very many difficulties in their everyday lives but we are not able to provide them with full employment.

The inequities described above have impeded and nullified, in an invisible but very brutal manner, the forces behind the youth movements to emulate in productive labor, studies and the adoption of the new way of life. We should give our attention to correcting this problem because we must, in the years ahead, do everything possible to mobilize the youths of the entire country to emulate one another in helping to successfully implement the three major economic programs set forth by the Sixth Party Congress.

Some comrades say that the three major economic programs will create the forces needed for movements. In my opinion, such might not entirely be the case. The three major economic programs only set a direction for social actions, set goals for the emulation movement. They do not directly create forces behind movements. But even if they do manage to create some forces, these will only be forces that move a number of activists. To truly inspire activism on the part of the various strata of youths and the working people on a broad scope, these economic programs absolutely must encompass correct socio-economic policies. Only in this way is it possible to liberate production capacity, develop each potential and produce much grain and many food products, consumer goods and export goods.

In summary, setting and successfully implementing correct socio-economic policies in order to create strong forces for widespread emulation movements among youths in the years ahead must be considered an extremely important part of the new approach taken in the activities of the state and the Youth Union.

Thus, what must we do to formulate correct socio-economic policies and implement these policies?

In my opinion, it is first of all necessary that we have a correct concept of what a policy is. For several decades, more than a few persons have considered a policy to be something that does not change, to be "immutable," to be a model free of mistakes. This concept is incorrect. A policy is a goal-oriented perception of life, is a system of requirements set by the state to transform reality in accordance with the views and lines of the party. Whereas a line is something that is relatively static and rarely changes, a policy must be flexible and dynamic,

must keep pace with life and always be reexamined, amended and improved or canceled with the aim of promptly solving the problems raised by practice.

In order to adopt correct socio-economic policies that are consistent with reality and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people, policy makers must not only have a deep understanding of political, economic and social issues, but must also clearly understand the thoughts and aspirations of the masses. It is difficult to avoid mistakes when policies are formulated solely on the basis of subjective desires, regardless of how fine these desires might be, not formulated on the basis of science, on the basis of investigations, pilot projects and surveying the opinions of many persons, especially the opinions of those persons upon whom a policy has the primary impact. Therefore, in order to formulate correct policies, responsible agencies must raise their policy making standards and adopt new methods. At the same time, mass organizations must participate in evaluating policies related to their membership.

As regards the major issues of youths, such as labor, jobs, education, their right of ownership in the economy and society and so forth, the Youth Union should conduct thorough research with the clear goal of reexamining all existing policies in order to propose the repeal of outmoded or incorrect policies by the state or the amendment and improvement of aspects of policies that reflect shortcomings or are not well coordinated. When necessary, it should propose new policies to be promulgated. In recent years, the Youth Union Central Committee has given its attention to this matter and proposed to the Council of Ministers that it issue a resolution on upholding the right of collective ownership of youths. This represents a major effort, but is only an initial step. In keeping with the spirit of restructuring youth work, perhaps it is necessary for the Youth Union to be more active and take greater initiative. Youth Union cadres must be given advanced training and their knowledge of and ability to organize the implementation of policies, especially socio-economic policies that relate largely to youths, must be raised.

Dynamism and creativity on the part of the Youth Union, especially effective coordination among the central agencies of the Youth Union, not only give the union a tremendous ability to propose to the state amendments and adjustments to policies concerning youths and new policies to be promulgated, but also create good conditions for the establishment of separate policies and regulations of the Youth Union concerning special benefits for cadres, Youth Union members and youths who make outstanding contributions in building the Youth Union and in the emulation movements of youths. Once correct policies have been formulated, what is the next most important factor? It is nothing other than organizing their implementation well, then taking action. Because, if we only stop at the correctness of something

in a document, this document, as Engels once said, still does not have the strength to compel social forces to obey society. That which compels social forces to obey is social action.

To successfully implement correct policies that have been promulgated, unified social action must be taken. Taking action, in the case of the Youth Union, is a major responsibility. However, from the standpoint of the state, it must begin with incorporating major policies in its plan programs under yearly and 5-year norms and providing the necessary funding and means for these policies. In many cases, the state will have to adopt laws to support these policies. This is an important point, one that frequently plays the decisive role. However, the most basic factor will continue to be the willingness, the determination of tens of millions of persons to implement these policies.

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A Very Promising Change on the Part of the Press

421000021 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 49-52

[Article by Nhi Le]

[Text] Our country's press is fulfilling its role and responsibility in the struggle against negative phenomena.

Perhaps it began with the article carried in NHAN DAN Newspaper on 1 July 1986 entitled "A Case of Retaliation Against a Person Who Criticized the Director" (Bui Anh Tinh, the Hai Hung Bee Keeping Corporation). Then, NHAN DAN, HANOI MOI, LAO DONG, TIN TUC and other papers reported on "large-scale smuggling at the Hanoi Ocean Transport Corporation," "A Major Case of Misappropriation of Petroleum Products in Tien Giang," "The Dong Anh Motorcycle Factory," "The Rubber General Department," "The Tran Hung Dao Machine Works," "The Tay Ninh Export Corporation," "Dan Dinh Tam in Thanh Hoa"... In particular, ever since NHAN DAN Newspaper began to carry the series of articles by Nguyen Van Linh in the paper's "The Tasks of the Moment" section and the articles written in response by readers near and far, our country's press has truly displayed a new vitality and played a clear role in stimulating change in keeping with the spirit of the Sixth Party Congress.

In an attitude of squarely facing the truth and speaking the truth, our press, besides praising good things, has begun to report and strongly criticize cases and incidents involving negative phenomena, particularly cases that have been going on for a long time. It has also reported on the anger and indignation of the people and categorized these cases as "tumors," as cancers within the party, the state apparatus and society. This is perhaps the first time that our press has denounced and named

individuals and collectives that have made mistakes and engaged in wrongdoing, including cadres and party members who hold public position and authority and high ranking, powerful cadres within the party and state apparatus, persons who have been considered "off limits," persons whom the press previously did not have the permission to openly criticize. If these persons were criticized, they were "let off lightly" or even "criticized and praised at the same time" as loyal journalists wrestled with the pros and cons and took pains not to overstep their bounds. The press has exposed a number of tactics employed in cases of corruption, bribery and embezzlement against the state and the people; denounced the behavior of persons who think they have special rights and privileges, of persons who have retaliated against and intimidated the masses; exposed "abusive, arrogant directors," "leeches," and "revolutionary officials" who have engaged in corrupt practices, gone into trade... The press has strongly denounced persons who steal socialist property, such as the thieves at the Binh Duong Factory in Song Be; gangs of young thugs, such as those in Hung Ha in Thai Binh and Song Thao in Vinh Phu; "evil allies" who misappropriate goods of the state, such as those in the port of Saigon in Ho Chi Minh City, at the Dong Nai Export Corporation and at the Dong Thap Commerce Service, negligent persons, such as those at the Binh Wharf Refrigeration Plant in Haiphong, etc.

Thus, the press has created an atmosphere of open, forthright and democratic criticism and demands that responsible agencies and cadres respond, that legal agencies take stern action. Through its discoveries and investigations, the press has courageously brought to light a number of cases and incidents of negative phenomena in the true sense of the term.

Deserving of attention is that this effort on the part of the press is not restricted to a few newspapers or a number of localities, but extends to practically every newspaper nationwide. It extends from the printed press and radio to television and pictorial magazines, from central to local newspapers, from the party paper to the papers of the mass organizations and the sectors. NHAN DAN, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, LAO DONG, TIEN PHONG, PHU NHU VIETNAM, TUAN TIN TUC, DAI DOAN KET, NGUOI GIAO VIEN NHAN DAN AND THIEU NIEN TIEN PHONG Newspapers, Voice of Vietnam Radio, Central Television, VIETNAM PICTORIAL MAGAZINE and so forth together with the newspapers, radio stations and television stations of the localities have been presenting to the public, in many different formats and genre, very serious cases and incidents involving negative phenomena. Some have been reported by many newspapers and stations. Many newspapers and stations have introduced new sections or changed their sections and programming to keep pace with the demands of the new situation and tasks. NHAN DAN newspaper has introduced a section it calls "In Response to the Tasks of the Moment" and another

called "Readers' Opinion Page." HANOI MOI newspaper has introduced a "Readers Read, Discuss and Inspect" section. LAO DONG newspaper has introduced a section called "Voice of the Worker." Central Television has introduced a program called "Television Mailbox." THAI BINH newspaper has replaced its "Readers' Opinions" section with a section called "The People's Opinion." AP BAC Newspaper in Tien Giang Province has introduced a section called "An Incident a Week"...

To meet the pressing demands of life and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of large numbers of cadres, party members and the people, particularly since the appearance of the articles by N.V.L., open criticism and self-criticism in the press have been widely and strongly responded to within the party and among the people. Practically all provincial and municipal party committees, all levels of administration and all sectors and mass organizations have actively responded to "the Tasks of the Moment." Many ministries and provinces have taken practical steps that have produced rather clear initial results. Hundreds of thousands of persons near and far have sent letters and articles to the editorial boards of newspapers and to the boards of radio and television stations. In one week, NHAN DAN newspaper received 8,000 letters. It once received 5,500 letters in the space of only 3 days. It also received more than 1,000 letters concerning the case of a director who had retaliated against a person who criticized him. LAO DONG Newspaper received more than 300 letters concerning "inspecting the inspection" at the Hau Giang Grain Service... Tracking down the return addresses of these letters, journalists have continued to bring to light many other cases and incidents involving negative phenomena.

Thus, in recent months, the press has taken a step in a new direction and made important contributions to the struggle against negative phenomena. It has broken the "eerie silence." It has broken into hundreds of dark and heavily defended enclaves and attacked zones "off limits" to criticism. The press, by reflecting the trend toward democratization and openness in our society, has helped to strengthen the confidence of the masses in the party. The masses see the change that has come about in the press as the clearest aspect of change in our society. As a result, they are closer to the press.

However, we must also admit that in the struggle against negative phenomena in recent months, the press has often displayed a lack of initiative and been ineffective. Some newspaper articles have presented facts without the necessary degree of caution or accuracy and in a way that is not truly scientific. A few newspaper articles have been somewhat hot-headed, even shown signs of vehemence, which caused them to lack the necessary objectivity and certainty and made them less persuasive. Commentaries that are slanted by words of a provocative nature are still seen now and then. For one reason or

another, some journalists continue to maintain a hesitant, wary and middle-of-the-road attitude and avoid or treat certain subjects with deference. They do not possess the necessary courage and skills.

On the other hand, the press has also run into more than a few obstacles. It has been "tripped up," even "stabbed in the back" and retaliated against by conservative powers of departmentalism, parochialism and self-interest. Some leaders, some units and localities remain "silent" and "unmoved" in the face of shortcomings and mistakes, of cases and incidents involving negative phenomena presented in the press. A number of others accept criticism grudgingly or in a "form for form's sake" manner or look for ways to conceal their shortcomings and hide their mistakes. Worse yet, some places have "turned their backs" on the press, have retaliated against the press and against persons who have supplied information to the press. Some papers have been on the verge of ceasing publication as a result of the pressure brought to bear by an influential person. Some papers have been threatened by one person or another. Some journalists have been "invited" by leadership committees to leave a number of factories because they wanted to conduct investigations and report the truth. Mr. Tran Cong Hau, a retired cadre living in Hoang Van Thu Village in Thanh Tri District, Hanoi, was attacked and seriously injured by undesirable elements simply because he wrote an article against negative phenomena... Some criminals who have yet to be publicly exposed are looking for ways to evade exposure, are apologizing and throwing up a smoke screen in a vain attempt to escape the slings and arrows of public opinion and justice under the law. We also should not overlook the schemes of some undesirable elements who seek to use the weapons of criticism and self-criticism to falsely accuse good persons, conceal their own mistakes and cause internal disorder. Nor should we relax our vigilance against the "obstructionist" tactics of hostile external powers who are always anxious to sabotage our cause.

Although it has only recently gone into battle and has told only a portion of the truth, the press has met with rather bitter opposition. But this is no reason for the press to pull back. As the effective tool of the party, as the representative of the public, the press must participate in the struggle against negative phenomena more strongly, better and more effectively. It must successfully perform its tasks of "continuing to discover and observe," of "reporting, denouncing and naming the persons involved in negative phenomena and assisting the law and responsible agencies in quickly, accurately and thoroughly investigating and prosecuting these matters." The press has no other choice.

To fulfill these tasks, besides being "pure of heart," being "staunch" and possessing "a high sense of responsibility," journalists must possess the skills and courage needed to struggle. Their attitude must be objective, unbiased and faithful. Their style of work must be bold

and scientific. They must possess the spirit of self-criticism, accept criticism and have a desire to make progress. Being strict but fair is a demand of all persons who pick up a pen in this struggle.

The strength of the press lies in the facts that it relies upon the masses and is wholeheartedly responsive to and supported by them. Consequently, the press must continue to correctly satisfy the legitimate demands and aspirations of the masses and cause large numbers of the masses to actively participate in, support and build the press with all their zeal and to the best of their ability.

At the same time, it must also be recognized that although the press plays a very important role and has a noble responsibility, it only exposes, reports and denounced negative phenomena, generates public opinion and supports the masses in their struggle while assisting legal agencies in fulfilling their task. Directly investigating, verifying and prosecuting matters are part of the authority and responsibility of legal agencies. This is the decisive factor. Only when legal agencies prosecute matters promptly, accurately and strictly but fairly are the press and the masses encouraged to struggle and gradually prevent, make inroads against and put a stop to negative phenomena. When society is a society of laws, everyone must live and work in accordance with the law. The law is the supreme power. Therefore, the press must closely coordinate with legal agencies, must assist and observe the activities of these agencies. It must observe the development of cases, report the results of the prosecution of cases, introduce the experiences of legal agencies and support the justice achieved by legal agencies while criticizing even the negative phenomena of these legal agencies.

One immutable principle is that the press must always place itself under the leadership of the party. The various party committee echelons must adhere to the guidance of the Central Committee; successfully lead the struggle against negative phenomena; wholeheartedly support, encourage and protect genuine journalists; protect persons who bravely struggle against negative phenomena; and create every possible condition for the press to function and fulfill its task. The series of articles by N.V.L., which typifies the concern and support of the party, has given the press greater strength with which to struggle and brought a fresh breath of democracy and openness to the party and the people while encouraging journalists to continue to attack, to "spread light," "to push back, reduce and disperse the darkness."

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Toward the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

Soviet Law and the Current Restructuring Campaign in the Soviet Union

42100002m Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 87 pp 53-56

[Article by Phung Van Tuu, vice chairman of the National Assembly and vice minister of justice]

[Text] Among the many measures behind the restructuring campaign in the country of the great October Socialist Revolution, strictly enforcing the law and increasing the force of the law play a very important role.

The experience gained in building the socialist state in the Soviet Union shows that each and every period of new and higher development of society requires a legal basis. If, within the economic, political, social and spiritual structures, there are not forms of law consistent with these structures from the standpoint of standards and level of development, this shortcoming will thwart development and impede the changes for the better demanded by life. Conversely, when laws are drafted and promulgated in a timely manner, when these laws are precise and based on the dynamic life being lived, they open broad possibilities for the creative development of the people and put all production capacity to work.

The June 1986 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, after evaluating the progress of the restructuring campaign and analyzing the state of the law, the situation concerning the implementation of the state plan, the organization of production and management..., reached the conclusion that the performance of economic and social tasks cannot be separated from strengthening the socialist system of law, strengthening law and order, staunchly protecting the rights and interests of the citizen and correctly putting social fairness into practice.

Of importance from the standpoint of effectively supporting the restructuring campaign is the need to successfully and accurately reflect economic and social needs in the law. To begin with, a new and more complete legal mechanism must be created, one which exerts a more effective impact in the direction of change and successfully prevents negative phenomena. The implementation of the key elements of the strategy of accelerating socio-economic development, such as activating the human factor, further developing socialist democracy in breadth and depth, better implementing socialist self-management, accelerating the advancement of science and technology, perfecting the economic mechanism and management system, raising the standards of organization, discipline and order, reconfirming the principle of social fairness, strengthening and raising socialist ethical standards...all these tasks are being carried out in the spirit of change and are closely tied to the restructuring campaign. The problem is that these tasks must be thoroughly and fully governed by current laws. That is, the system of law must be changed to suit the new situation. "We must continue to improve the quality of Soviet laws. Our law—civil law and labor law, the financial and administrative codes, the economic and criminal codes—must make more positive contributions to the application of economic methods in management, exert more effective control over the amount of labor performed and the level of consumption and implement the principles of social fairness." (1) At this turning point, the problem being faced is that the current system of law must be evaluated not only on the basis of the

views of yesterday, but on the basis of the actual requirements of current tasks, of the restructuring campaign. Only in this way is it possible to more clearly see which tasks are of pressing, foremost importance, see the prospects for the development and refinement of current laws and see the potentials of the law that have yet to be fully utilized.

The making of laws in the Soviet Union today is very broad in scope, particularly in the economic field, where the restructuring campaign is being vigorously carried out and a struggle is being waged to gradually overcome stagnation and shift from the old habits and methods of economic work to new methods of management and business. The July 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee unanimously approved the draft of the law on state enterprises, which was subsequently ratified by the Supreme Soviet. This represents a major effort in the making of laws, a step forward in the system of economic law. This document will play an exceedingly important role in shifting economic activities from the old mechanism to the new and meeting the needs of today. The foremost requirements that must be met through the implementation of the new mechanism are to grant enterprises broad authority and guarantee them true independence in production and business on the basis of full-scale economic accounting.

The democratization of the economy is closely tied to the active use of different forms of cooperation, of private labor besides state ownership. The law on private labor, which went into effect on 1 May 1987, has opened broad possibilities for honest workers to make full use of their skills, time and other capabilities and increases the sources of legitimate income.

More importance is also being attached to legal measures aimed at maintaining labor discipline, state discipline and contract discipline, protecting socialist ownership and struggling against classified reports and the production of poor quality products.

Recently, in the various fields related to economic activity, the Soviet state has promulgated and implemented a series of effective measures, such as combating income not earned through labor, harshly punishing the taking of bribes and prosecuting violations of the regulations on the use of energy and natural gas in household activities, the failure to declare sources of income and the illegal use of means of communication, machinery and equipment for personal gains.

The measures aimed at eradicating alcoholism and drunkenness are of positive significance in the struggle against violations of the law. According to statistics on the last 2 years, the incidents of murder, assault, rape, brawling and so forth, that is, of crimes usually associated with drinking, has greater declined. In many localities, the number of divorces has declined significantly, the atmosphere within many families is happier and social order has improved.

Further democratizing society, that is, continuing to develop socialist democracy in breadth and depth, is an important requirement in stimulating the restructuring campaign. "Without the further development of socialist democracy in all its aspects and manifestations, it is impossible to accelerate the development of society."⁽²⁾

One of the important elements of socialist democracy is guaranteeing social fairness, achieving the equality of the citizen under the law and protecting the interests of the state and the citizen. Therefore, on 30 June 1987, the law on the procedures for filing complaints in court against illegal actions by persons in public position that harm the interests of citizens was promulgated in the Soviet Union. This is also a necessary legal measure in preventing and eliminating violations of the law by persons who hold authority, one which opens new possibilities for the citizen to exercise his socio-political rights and rights of freedom with the aim of further developing the system of socialist democracy.

The recent situation in the Soviet Union shows that Soviet law is focusing its force on the struggle against crime and other violations of the law so that everyone everywhere and under all circumstances feels the concern of the state for their safety and inviolability and has confidence that everyone who violates the law, regardless of who he or she might be, will be appropriately punished.

In order to become an effective instrument supporting the strategy on accelerating socio-economic development and the widespread restructuring campaign in the life of the Soviet Union, the system of Soviet law itself is also in the process of being restructured. This process begins with the work of making and perfecting laws and extends to propagandizing and teaching the law to cadres and the people, training legal cadres, strengthening and increasing the responsibility of the agencies that uphold the law, such as internal affairs agencies, the courts, the organs of control, judiciary agencies, arbitration agencies and so forth. Most importantly, it is necessary to adopt new thinking concerning the law and its role in socio-economic life. Concerning this matter, many persons maintain that it is necessary to combat two types of views concerning the role of the law. The first type gives light attention to the law and maintains that the law is merely a matter of form, that it impedes dynamism and creativity, particularly in the economic field. The second type considers the law to be omnipotent, to be the only or the main tool for solving each problem of society. This leads to a desire to codify in legal standards virtually every step taken by authorities and citizens, thereby thwarting their actions and creativity by means of hundreds of thousands of formal procedures.

Everyone knows that the law is an instrument used exclusively by the state to manage the economy and society. But merely having laws is not enough. It is also necessary to know how to flexibly and skillfully combine legal measures with political, economic, educational and

ideological measures. Every one-sided and incomplete evaluation of the law, every evaluation which reduces or absolutizes the role of the law as well as straying from the principles of social fairness will adversely affect the process of accelerating socio-economic development. Carrying out the restructuring campaign in the field of law so that the law is more dynamic and promptly addresses the socio-economic issues arising in everyday life, this is the weighty task that faces legal agencies. At the Ninth Conference of Ministers of Justice of the Socialist Countries, which was held in Budapest in April 1987, the participating countries heard the Soviet Minister of Justice present the experiences gained in the legal field in supporting the restructuring campaign such as revamping the activities of judiciary agencies.

In our country, the Sixth Congress of the Party emphasized the role of the law and the need to strengthen the socialist system of law. In an important address at the opening of the first session of the Eighth National Assembly, General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh stressed that together with adopting new political and economic thinking, we must also adopt new legal thinking and accelerate the making of laws and the adoption of effective law enforcement measures.

The results achieved by the Soviet Union in the field of law and in strengthening the socialist system of law will provide very useful experience to us in the current revamping process.

Footnotes

1. M.S. Gorbachev: "Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi and Novosti News Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p 90.

2. Ibid., p 80.

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V.I. Lenin's Grain Tax Policy and the Strengthening of the Alliance of Workers and Farmers

42100002n Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 87 pp 57-60

[Article by Nguyen Tri Dinh, MS in economics]

[Text] Lenin's grain tax policy was of decisive significance in restoring and developing agriculture in the Soviet Union during the period of economic recovery (1921-1925). Today, this policy is of contemporary significance not only to the Soviet Union, but to our country as well.

Below, we would like to present some of the basic features of Lenin's grain tax policy and the significance of this policy in strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants.

I. The Shift to the Grain Tax Policy

Following the success of the Russian October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet Union experienced a period of civil war and armed intervention by 14 imperialist countries. Under these circumstances, the Soviet Union was forced to adopt a "war time communism" economic policy. The basic feature of this policy was the appropriation of grain. Lenin observed that the "war time communism" economic policy was the most appropriate measure to be taken and played an important role under certain circumstances by helping to win victory over the foreign interventionists and domestic counter-revolutionary forces. At the same time, Lenin also pointed out: "It is not and cannot be a policy compatible with the economic tasks of the proletariat. It is a temporary measure." (1) The appropriation of surplus grain, which had "shown itself to be exceedingly cumbersome and disadvantageous to peasants" (2), had destroyed the material incentives for developing the peasant economy, an economy of small-scale commodity producers, posed obstacles to the development of grain production and led to a decline in production. Therefore, the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party(b) decided to shift to the grain tax policy, thereby opening the way for culminating the "war time communism" economic policy and instituting the new economic policy.

The main feature of the grain tax policy was that the grain tax rate for peasants was predetermined and stable. The grain tax was nearly two times lower than the rate at which grain was appropriated (peasants only had to pay about one-half of the product they produced in taxes). Peasants were allowed to freely use and trade their surplus grain.

II. The Significance of V.I. Lenin's Grain Tax Policy in Strengthening the Alliance of Workers and Peasants

The implementation of Lenin's grain tax policy in the Soviet Union produced significant results: in only 1 year, the peasantry had not only put an end to the famine, but was also supplying to the Soviet state (through the grain tax) a rather large quantity of cereal grains. By the end of 1925, the amount of area under the cultivation of cereal grains had increased by 11.5 percent compared to 1921. Total cereal grain output and livestock herds increased.

Thus, in only a short amount of time, Soviet peasants restored their production that had been ravaged by World War I and the civil war: agriculture was supplying grain to the country.

The land of the Soviets had been able to take a long stride forward in strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants because:

First, the Soviet party and state considered "the most pressing problem at this point in time to be taking measures to immediately restore the production forces of the peasant economy. This is the only path by which we

can improve the living conditions of workers, strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship.”(3)

Moreover, from the standpoint of social relations, the peasantry made up a large portion, more than 80 percent, of the population. Only by aligning itself with the peasantry could the working class fulfill its leadership role and retain power.

Second, the Soviet Union had guaranteed the interests of peasants.

The question here was how to improve the living conditions of peasants and rapidly restore agriculture.

The main key was providing economic incentive to peasants. Because, after paying their taxes, peasants still had some surplus grain. This meant that their interests were being guaranteed and that the heavy burden they bore had been reduced.

The grain tax opened a broad path for peasants to put more land under cultivation, improve their business and raise their labor productivity, because, the more they produced and the better their products were, the more their income rose...

Although seemingly simple, this policy unleashed forces which caused millions of peasants to work enthusiastically and hard and develop each potential lying in their labor, means of production and capital in order to develop production.

Third, it allowed free trade and commerce and expanded trade between agriculture and industry, between the countryside and the cities.

The grain tax policy stated that the peasant owned and could consume his surplus grain or put it on the market in trade for industrial goods.

Under the conditions of a small peasant country in which millions of persons were small-scale producers, trying to ban all private trade was, according to Lenin, “a stupid and suicidal policy to any party wanting to apply it.”(4)

In the grain tax policy, Lenin stated the need for commodity trade between industry and agriculture and considered a certain degree of free trade to be the only way to give peasants—small-scale commodity producers—an interest in developing the economy.

To encourage the development of production and curb capitalist spontaneity, Lenin maintained that it was necessary to restrict free trade to the scope of each locality and encourage localities to display dynamism and develop flexible forms of trade organizations. On the other hand, this free trade had to be oriented toward the

development of state capitalism—a capitalism under the inventory and control of the state. This was the form of economic transition from small-scale production to socialism.

At the same time, the realities of life had proven that to small-scale commodity producers, commerce was the only acceptable way to establish an alliance between agriculture and industry. In the commercial relations between industry and agriculture, the principles of price parity (based on the law of value) and mutual benefit had to be guaranteed. Such economic equality—according to Lenin—was the form and substance of the alliance of workers and peasants.

Fourthly, it carried out the socialist transformation of the small peasant economy and brought the basic components of the peasantry to the path of socialism. Lenin was constantly concerned with the development of the cooperativization movement, with the need to bring peasants into consumer cooperatives, credit cooperatives, production collectives and collective farms. He maintained that the socialist transformation of the small peasant economy would be a very difficult and complex undertaking and demanded certain conditions in terms of material-technical bases.

Lenin’s grain tax policy, which was in effect in the Soviet Union from 1921 to 1925, made an important contribution to restoring the post-war economy and consolidating the alliance of workers and peasants. Moreover, the theory and thinking embodied in this policy have pervaded the process of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Even today, this policy continues to be of profound international significance, to embody thinking tantamount to principles concerning economic management during the period of transition in our country.

Applying Lenin’s grain tax policy, our party has attached very much importance to developing agriculture, has made agriculture the front of foremost importance and is gradually advancing agriculture to large-scale, socialist production. In the process of implementing the party’s line, we have achieved certain results in raising crop yields and output and in building material-technical bases for agriculture. However, besides these results, we have also committed a number of mistakes that have harmed the effort to consolidate the alliance of workers and farmers.

— For a rather long time, farmers bore the burden of too many obligations, such as the grain tax, the obligation to sell grain, the obligation to sell pork, the corvée labor obligation...

The procurement and sale of grain and food products between the state and farmers have not been marked by fairness: products have been procured on credit and at

low prices, thus causing significant inconvenience (in essence, this approach is no different than requisitioning products) and causing cooperatives and farmers to operate at a loss.

— The practice of closing rivers to traffic, prohibiting markets from being held and not allowing farmers to freely trade their farm products created bottlenecks in circulation and had an adverse impact upon agricultural production.

Distribution within agricultural cooperatives is still unreasonable and unfair. The percentage of income that actually goes to the farmer is still too low (only about 15 to 25 percent of contract output). Contributions to the collective and state organizations are too large.

— The way that industrial goods are traded for agricultural products is unfair: some materials, such as fertilizer, pesticides and so forth, are not supplied to farmers on time, in the correct quantity or of the correct type, thus forcing them to buy these materials on the free market at very high prices. The ratio between the prices of industrial goods and the prices of agricultural products has become increasingly large, to the disadvantage of farmers (they must sell their products at low prices and buy products at high prices).

We have maintained for far too long the "conversion" of materials into goods between the state and farmers, thus causing the scope of normal commodity trade between workers and farmers, between the cities and the country to narrow and giving rise to many negative phenomena.

The above policies have had the following consequences: a considerable percentage of farmers is experiencing many difficulties in their everyday lives and the amounts of money and paddy owed by cooperative members have been steadily rising (in Thai Binh Province alone, more than 30,000 tons of paddy are still owed). Farmers are not enthused about producing. This has significantly affected efforts to consolidate the alliance of workers and farmers.

To correct the shortcomings described above, the resolution of the recent Second Plenum of the Sixth CPV Central Committee raised the following matters concerning the policy toward farmers:

— Agricultural taxes should be the only obligation that farmers have. Agricultural taxes should be improved along lines which provide incentive for production. Tax rates and contract production quotas should remain stable until 1990.

— Trade between economic organizations of the state and cooperatives, agricultural collectives and farm households must be based on the principles of equality and negotiated procurement and selling prices.

— In-kind trade between the state and farmers should be abolished and economic contracts should be introduced in the procurement of agricultural products and the sale of materials between the state and farmers.

— The price ratio at which materials and agricultural products are traded should be set at a reasonable level and provide incentive for production. The procurement prices of paddy and other agricultural products both under and outside contract must be negotiated and insure that farmers are provided with normal production conditions, that they can meet necessary costs and earn a 30 to 40 percent profit.

— After paying their taxes and fulfilling the economic contracts signed with state agencies, cooperatives, production collectives and farm households should be allowed to freely circulate and market their grain, food products and other agricultural products.

Of foremost importance is the need for business organizations of the state to provide a full supply of agricultural materials; allocate additional building materials and a number of appropriate consumer goods to meet consumer needs in trade relations with farmers; immediately reorganize the way they do business in materials and goods; and insure that materials and goods reach cooperatives, production collectives and farm households promptly, at the stipulated price and without any losses.

In our opinion, the policies and measures described above represent the application of the thinking expressed by V.I. Lenin in the grain tax policy to our country's actual situation. These policies are consistent with objective economic laws and satisfy the basic aspirations of farmers (for example, having fewer obligations, being allowed to engage in free trade...). Therefore, the resolution of the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee is a step forward in improving commodity trade relations between the state and farmers, in particular, and in the entire field of distribution-circulation, in general.

Implementing this resolution well will open fine prospects for restoring and developing agriculture, for consolidating and strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers in the period of transition to socialism in our country.

Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 432, p 265.

2. Ibid., p 297.

3. Ibid., p 263.

4. Ibid., p 267.

Research-Exchange of Opinions on Product Contracts in Agriculture

Applying the Law of Distribution in Accordance With Labor Within the Context of Product Contracts With Individual Laborers in Our Country's Agriculture

42100002o Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 61-64, 68

[Article by Nguyen Huy, professor and acting director of the Economic Institute of the Vietnam Social Sciences Commission]

[Text] Several different periods have been experienced in the remuneration of labor within agricultural cooperatives in our country. At one time, the policies in effect were: "register to work and receive workpoints" and "evaluating achievements and awarding workpoints." These methods of remuneration, however, were totally contrary to or not fully consistent with the law of distribution in accordance with labor.

The shift to the "three contracts" policy, also known as the piecework contract policy, marked a major step forward in applying the law of distribution in accordance with labor. Under this policy, the cooperative let out three contracts to production units: contracts for output, expenditures on materials and workpoints. The units then contracted with cooperative members: each day, cooperative members were assigned jobs by unit cadres that were categorized by quota and steps and for which workpoints were awarded. Payment was made in product and cash at the end of the year, with advances made for each season. This form of remuneration was also a product contract and was much better than the previous forms. Under this contract policy, those cooperatives that had a corps of qualified management cadres who possessed a high spirit of responsibility and cooperative members who possessed the spirit of collective ownership and were highly conscious of their rights and obligations tapped the strength of cooperation and a division of labor and achieved good results in production and everyday life. But facts proved that only a very small percentage of cooperatives possessed these capabilities. Some aspects of the piecework contract policy were not consistent with the characteristics of agricultural production. The products produced under these contracts were products in incomplete stages, not final products. And, the fact that they were not final products gave rise to many negative phenomena:

— Cooperative members emphasized the amount of work performed in order to earn many workpoints without giving attention to the quality of work (even though the quality of work is of decisive significance in the yield of crops).

— Cooperative members did not make full use of their time to produce because the contract policy was closely tied to "going to work together at the sound of the gong" and each person usually only worked 4 to 5 hours per day.

— Both cadres and cooperative members could easily do things that were wrong, such as engage in misappropriation, steal workpoints, evade work, leave fields to sell products on the market, do other jobs when the weather is bad, etc.

The key point was that the piecework contract policy did not successfully meet and, it can be said, even violated the requirements of the law of distribution in accordance with labor. This was mainly because, under this contract policy, output (work) determined the actual income of cooperative members. (Laborers who worked hard might earn only a few workpoints while persons who did sloppy, careless work could earn many workpoints). This led to low crop yields and cooperative members who did not work hard, who were not concerned with production, which harmed the interests of the cooperative and the interests of the state and was not in keeping with the aspirations of the mass of farmers.

Under the policy of final product contracts with individual laborers, the essence of which is contracts with the collective of laborers of a household (a cooperative member family), the negative phenomena associated with the old methods of contracting (piecework contracts and the "three contracts") have been overcome or curbed. The basic reason is that this policy is consistent with the characteristics of agricultural production and satisfies the requirements of the law of distribution in accordance with labor. The remuneration of cooperative members is closely tied to the contract quota on output and the contract ceiling on material costs and reflects the principle of distribution in accordance with labor better. The fact that cooperative members receive 100 percent of the output produced over and above their contract as a result of investing additional labor and materials also correctly reflects the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. Clearly, each person can and does work to the fullest of his ability and is remunerated, in terms of final product, on the basis of the results of his work. This is the underlying reason why cooperative members work hard and enthusiastically invest their labor and capital in developing production, fulfilling their contracts and meeting and exceeding contract quotas in order to earn additional income. This is the basis of the "shift" in the use of idle capital in the countryside from the field of personal consumption to the field of consumption for production and the reason why cooperative members go to work early and leave late and fully utilize the potentials of their family to care for the fields they accept under contract. If we compare these phenomena to the practice of cooperative members leaving their fields of mature rice in the hot sun under the previous contract policies, we are able to see the enormous strength of the new product contract policy.

The facts presented above are significant from many different perspectives. First, the income and living conditions of cooperative members have increased in proportion to the effort expended by them. Second, on the basis of cooperative members meeting and exceeding their contract quotas, the various funds of the cooperative are funded. Third, the amount of product supplied to the state under obligations (taxes) and the amount sold under contract are guaranteed through the plan. Thus, the three interests are combined in a way that is well balanced and lays the basis for simultaneously achieving all three interests.

The essential factor is that final product contracts with individual laborers have unleashed a personal force, a direct force with which to develop and build upon the common force that is the system of collective ownership and collective mastery, thereby stimulating the development of production and insuring that the three economic interests are combined in a way that is well balanced. Socialist production relations within agriculture have not been weakened. To the contrary, they have been consolidated and strengthened in all four areas: ownership relations, management relations, trade relations and distribution relations. The cooperativization movement in Nam Bo has been stimulated, not adversely affected. The scientific-technological revolution and the construction of material-technical bases for agriculture have proceeded in accordance with plans and, moreover, are on a forward momentum as a result of being closely tied to the vital interests of the laborer and the laborer actively accepting and successfully carrying them out. During the 3 years from 1981 to 1983, the weather posed many difficulties, the state only supplied to agriculture about 85 percent as much nitrogen fertilizer as it did each year during the period from 1976 to 1980 and a smaller quantity of pesticides was supplied. Yet, during those three years, grain output increased by nearly 1 million tons per year, thus achieving a rate of development five times higher than during the period from 1968 to 1980 and was a rather high rate of development in the history of grain production in our country (a 5.7 percent increase in grain output, in general, and an 8.5 percent increase in the output of rice). If we count only the northern provinces, where cooperativization has been completed and the new product contracts are in widespread use, the rate was even higher: a 10 percent increase in yields and a 12 percent increase in output. Examined from the perspective of the average over the 5 years from 1981 to 1985, the majority of which were years of natural disasters, grain output increased at the average rate of 5 percent (average grain output per year was 13.35 million tons during the period from 1976 to 1980 and 17.01 million tons during the period from 1981 to 1985). Grain output per capita rose from 268 kilograms in 1980 to 309 kilograms in 1985. Meanwhile, the population grew by 5.8 million persons.

Facts have shown that the initial concerns about undermining socialist construction in the countryside were

unfounded. To the contrary, a new revolutionary movement has emerged among the masses in socialist construction in rural areas. Of course, under final product contracts, there are differences in income among cooperative members (due to their attitude toward work, their skills and their ability to invest labor and capital in production). This is not inconsistent with the nature of socialism nor is it contrary to the requirements of the law of distribution in accordance with labor. Social fairness in the low stage of communism cannot be separated from meeting the requirements of this law: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." This is one of the fundamental elements of Marxist-Leninist theory. It is a requirement that has been raised by our party many times and was stressed at the Sixth Party Congress: "Insuring that the laborer earns a satisfactory income, one which is directly dependent upon the results of his labor, has the effect of providing incentive to work."⁽¹⁾ And, we should not be surprised that, in recent years, the general secretaries of the CPSU, from Y.V. Andropov to M.S. Gorbachev, have also stressed this view: the improvement of a person's standard of living must be based on his contributions to the development of production and to socialist construction. Those who contribute more should receive more. Those who contribute less should receive less. Wherever and whenever this principle of socialist distribution is violated, social fairness is also violated. And, this social fairness is the basis of the unity and stability of our society.

Of course, under the final product contracts with individual laborers, we still must give attention to implementing the social policies of the party and state. Families of war invalids, families of war dead, families of troops on military duty and families short of help must be given assistance, both in production and everyday life, by the cooperative and mass organizations. The key here is to help these families to use what they have to the fullest degree possible in order to meet and exceed their contract quotas. In the case of some households which do not work hard, increased education is needed to show them the relationship between how much work they do and their standard of living. On this basis, the conditions must be created for them to meet their contract quotas and, by so doing, stabilize and improve their standard of living.

The final product contracts with individual laborers are a new form of management, one which has been heartily welcomed, accepted and quickly put into practice by tens of millions of agricultural laborers. However, in guiding the implementation of these contracts, we have been unable to avoid a number of mistakes (mistakes which, however, are not mistakes in the new contract policy itself). We can overcome these mistakes. Making improvements in these areas in accordance with the directives and resolutions of the Party Secretariat and Council of State will insure that these contracts exert their enormous positive impact better. Of importance is the need to closely tie efforts to improve the product

contracts with individual laborers to the serious implementation of the policy on trade between the state and farmers set forth in the resolution of the Second Plenum of the Sixth Party Central Committee. Cooperatives and production collectives must set contract quotas at reasonable levels, revise distribution items that are subsidized in nature and unreasonable and insure that incentive for cooperative members to accept contracts and make additional investments in order to exceed their contract quotas is maintained. Reasonable contract quotas must be discussed and set by a congress of cooperative members and these quotas must remain stable until 1990.

In the years ahead, we can conduct pilot projects in direct and complete final product contracts with cooperative member households—"all-inclusive contracts"—at places which do not have the material-technical bases or the management skills in their corps of cadres needed to meet the requirements of implementing the new contract policy in accordance with Party Secretariat Directive 100.

Here, two matters must be clarified. First, an appropriate form of management only exerts an impact when it develops existing production potentials to the maximum degree possible while strongly stimulating the establishment of new production potentials. To raise agricultural production to higher levels of development, we must accelerate the construction of material-technical bases, in particular, and the establishment of production potentials, in general, for agriculture. Secondly, the historical role played by an appropriate form of management, in this case the final product contracts with individual laborers, does not cease until it is replaced by a different form of organization and remuneration compatible with the nature and level of development of production forces (when a substantive change has been achieved in the next higher stage—in the stage of production by modern machinery). In the stage of the manual labor worksite—a stage in which techniques associated with manual labor are primarily used—final product contracts with individual laborers are always the best specific form of contract to meet the requirements of the law of distribution in accordance with labor in the field of agriculture. Even when we have basically reached the stage of production by machine, product contracts with individual laborers will still be appropriate in those production sectors that have yet to achieve total mechanization. The realities of Bulgaria, Hungary and the Soviet Union verify this conclusion. As it turns out, the "particular" and the "unique" of our country are, when examined from the standpoint of their substance, also the "universal" and the "general," or to be precise, have helped to prove the "universal" and "general" aspects of manual production in the agriculture of all socialist countries. The "particular" and the "unique" will, of course, continue to exist but only in the specific elements of the final product contracts with individual laborers, which are essentially contracts with cooperative member families. And, the realities of the fraternal countries that have

built developed socialism provide an answer to a question raised by many persons: "What will follow these contracts?" Once total mechanization has been achieved, final product contracts with a collective of laborers operating a combine or machine system will, generally speaking, become the appropriate form.

Footnotes

1. The Proceedings of the Sixth Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1987, p 88.

7809

The Essence of the 'New Contract' and the Strengthening of Socialist Production Relations in Agriculture

42100002p Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 87 pp 65-68

[Article by Le Trong, MS]

[Text] In our country, after farmers voluntarily joined cooperatives and in order to achieve the cooperation and division of labor of collective production and gradually build the new, socialist countryside, cooperatives have applied many different forms of contracts since 1958 and also learned lessons concerning both their strengths and weaknesses. In particular, they learned the important strengths and the non-important weaknesses of the product contracts with collectives based on the three contract system with awards and penalties that was in effect during the period prior to 1975. Very regrettably, however, due to an incorrect understanding of the strengths and weaknesses and the causes of the slow growth of agricultural production, the decision was made when reorganizing production and improving management during the period from 1975 to 1979 to have cooperatives discontinue the use of product contracts for collectives based on the three contracts with bonuses and penalties while introducing piecework contracts with bonuses and penalties that were closely tied to reorganizing labor in specialized units, remunerating labor, awarding bonuses and levying penalties in money, distributing grain by ration standards and so forth. These incorrect policies were implemented at a time when the procurement, distribution, price and other policies of the state concerning cooperatives were unreasonable in many respects (the objective laws of production and distribution were ignored; the principles of economic accounting were ignored; and the labor expended in the production of products was not included or fully included in the compensation of the laborer). And, more regrettable was the fact that these policies allowed many cadres to become degenerate and corrupt, which occurred on a widespread basis and lasted for a long time, leading to unfair distribution, to the incorrect implementation of the principle of remuneration in accordance with labor and to "hard working persons being duped by dishonest persons."

All the mistakes described above formed the main basis for the decline of cooperatives and led to widespread dissatisfaction among the broad mass of cooperative members. Cooperative members did not work hard or looked for ways not to work for the collective. They even refused to harvest their ripe rice crops. More and more fields went fallow. As a result, there was a decline in the income and living conditions of the mass of cooperative members. Many persons were forced to sell products at outdoor markets, go into trade or eke out a living in a variety of ways, particularly at weak cooperatives.

Their hands tied by this situation, some weak cooperatives were forced to distribute additional land, besides their 5 percent plots, to cooperative members working in the subsidiary economy so that they could achieve self-sufficiency in the majority of the grain they needed. Other cooperatives used "non-specific contracts with rice growing households to increase production" or had land cleared, restored fields to production, allowed cooperative members to borrow rice fields and planted winter crops to stave off famine and increase the income of cooperative members. These realities led to the decision to conduct pilot projects in and propagandize the expansion of the "new contracts."

Thus, what is the essence of the "new contracts"? What are the new contracts doing from the standpoint of strengthening socialist production relations?

The term "new contract" is a term that has been derived by many comrades from the term "final product contract with groups of laborers and individual laborers," the essence of which is to distribute cropland in a relatively uniform manner (some good fields, some bad, some nearby fields, some far away, some high fields, some lowlying) to each farm household and contract with households to perform three jobs (of the eight jobs involved in the production of a product), thus closely tying them to the results of the production of the final product under a policy of "keeping the profits earned by being responsible for the losses incurred." As a result, each farm household has different production conditions and is free to invest more or less than the contract requirement on the fields they accept under contract. But the five jobs for which the labor collectives of units are contracted are not tied to the final product. Everyone knows that the final product is the result of the labor performed in all eight jobs, not just the three jobs let out under contract to households. However, the fact that the "new contract" policy states that the interests of the persons who perform the three jobs and the interests of the persons who perform the five other jobs are different has led to different labor responsibilities in the production of the final product and made it possible to implement the principle of "making everyone concerned with and closely tied to the final results of production." As a result, it is inevitable that the "new contracts" have led to the use of "non-specific contracts." Thus, the "new

contracts" basically do not embody the scientific character of a new breakthrough in philosophy but are only something imposed upon the situation. The object of this imposition was to propagandize everyone and all types of cooperatives, from the advanced to the weak, in all areas of the fatherland to convince them to adopt the "new contract." The reasoning here was that although the new might encounter difficulties when it first comes into being, it is also victorious. Moreover, one person has written that "in only one pilot project season, the product contracts proved to be a rather strong attraction to private farmers. Many persons have called this new contract a 'magic wand,' a 'golden key' to advancing agriculture to large-scale, socialist production." As a result, the agricultural cooperatives of the entire country (virtually 100 percent) have had to adopt the "new contract." Anyone who has a different opinion or any cooperative that has not adopted the "new contract" has been branded as backward, as conservative or, worse yet, has been accused of opposing Party Secretariat Directive 100.

But if we take a hard look at the facts, we see that, in our country, agricultural cooperatives have occupied and will continue to occupy a very large and important position. In practice, however, we still do not correctly appreciate their position. At certain times and places, we have allowed cooperatives to "drift." At present, more than 80 percent of agricultural cooperatives are actually using "non-specific contracts" with their members. The "excess" product is increasing⁽¹⁾ and the value of the manday is decreasing. The differences in income per workday among the various groups of households accepting contracts, all of which have different production conditions, are steadily growing and have led to the separation of these groups into two extremes. All these things are also inevitable.^(*) In summary, the process of implementing the "new contracts" over the past 8 years has shown that the main advantages and disadvantages of the "new contracts" are: besides a number of inherent yet incomplete aspects of the small farmer economy (such as an increase in the intensity of labor and the ability of each type farm household to utilize its materials and capital in the best way possible to recreate its means of production, with each household that accepts a contract being independent in its production and business, as a result of which, in years of favorable weather and compared to the production-business situation at cooperatives that still have many negative phenomena, there has been an "encouraging" increase in the output of agricultural products), we have been and continue to encounter very many difficulties, difficulties which have accelerated the erosion, the weakening of socialist production relations in agriculture. Consequently, the three objectives and the five principles and guidelines in advancing the collective economy to large-scale, socialist production (as set forth in Party Secretariat Directive 100) have, for the most part, not been met or implemented. At the same time, the agricultural cooperativization movement shows worrisome signs of weakening. Thus, how can "agriculture be brought one step closer to large-scale, socialist production"?

Farm Households Grouped by Production Conditions	Tools Per Household (1982 prices)		Value Created by 1 Manday	
	Dong per Household	Weak Group = 1	kg Paddy/workday	Weak Group = 1
1. Weak	36	1	0.80	1.0
2. Average	855	24	1.92	2.4
3. Above average	2296	64	3.80	4.7
4. Complete	11350	315	4.50	5.6

On the basis of the several arguments outlined above, we suggest that in the years ahead, besides continuing the socialist transformation of agriculture, it is exceedingly important that efforts be focused on strengthening production relations in a manner closely linked to developing socialist production forces within agriculture. The most pressing needs here are to strengthen and perfect the cooperativization policy, to strengthen and develop the collective economy.

To strengthen production relations and develop the agricultural cooperative economy, there are numerous problems that must be studied and resolved. Among them, foremost attention must be given to the need to research, review, summarize, revise, improve and perfect the product contracts within agricultural cooperatives in a way that is scientifically based. In particular, we must successfully combat the increasingly serious trend toward "non-specific contracts" with households. The use of these "non-specific contracts" has been steadily increasing, although the various leadership levels of our party and state have fully concerned themselves with this matter. On 14 December 1983, the Council of Ministers issued a resolution on "improving the final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers within agricultural cooperatives and production collectives." Then, on 22 June 1985, the Party Secretariat issued Directive Number 67/CT-TU on "improving economic management and perfecting the final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers at agricultural cooperatives and production collectives." The localities have made many efforts to "perfect" these contracts and combat the use of "non-specific contracts." But surveys show that it is very difficult to stop the use of "non-specific contracts." (3) "Non-specific contracts" with households are a manifestation of powerlessness in the face of the decline of the cooperativization movement. Yet, some persons not only are unconcerned with this situation, but also say that it is all right "for a collective which cannot survive to lower its standards" and use non-specific contracts with each household. One person has written: "There is nothing wrong with cooperative member households organizing cooperation and a division of labor on the scale of the household." This is not consistent with the

essence of cooperativization as defined by Lenin and is totally inconsistent with the thinking of Uncle Ho and our party. Consequently, we must actively combat the use of "non-specific contracts." I think that we must deeply study and review the "new contracts" in a very objective manner so that we can adopt scientifically based guidelines for resolving this problem. Because, this issue is a matter of "survival" to agricultural cooperativization.

Footnotes

1. On 28 June 1985, NHAN DAN Newspaper reported that five times more paddy and 3.5 times more money are in "excess" than previously.

2. As reported in NHAN DAN Newspaper on 5 September 1985 and on the basis of an investigation, income per manday in paddy equivalent in H. Province was: 3.02 kilograms from 1965 to 1969; 1.30 kilograms in 1981; 1.26 kilograms in 1982; 1.07 kilograms in 1983; and 0.94 kilogram in 1984.

* See the data on the production conditions and income (V + M) per day of the various farm household groups.

3. In October 1980, on the basis of research conducted by us, we reached the conclusion and reported to the Party Secretariat and at a conference at the Department of Agriculture of the Party Central Committee that a steady increase in the use of "non-specific contracts" as the form of expression of product contracts with farm households was inevitable. This conclusion was borne out in practice and reported in NHAN DAN Newspaper on 16 September 1986 as follows: in Hai Hung, "since the day that product contracts with individual laborers were first introduced, 'non-specific contracts' have been in widespread use and the new production relations have been growing steadily weaker. The material bases of cooperatives are not being fully utilized and are steadily eroding. Fields are broken up into small pieces of land. The 'excess' product is large and it is truly difficult to apply science-technology in production and build advanced models in the use of contracts with laborers."

Letter to the Editorial Board

Pain and Indignation

42100002q Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 87 pp 69-70

[Letter from Mai Thi Dao, Hanoi]

[Text] The 1979 regulation of our country on the protection, care and education of children states: "Children have the right to be cared for and nurtured." "Children of all ages have the right to have their dignity respected. The maltreatment and abuse of children or other actions that violate the dignity of children are prohibited."

Yet, in daily life, at one place or another, there continue to be cases of children being detained and beaten in a brutal and illegal manner! Recently, the newspapers and radio have carried reports on a number of typical cases:

There was the case of Nguyen Cong Tuan, the deputy public security chief of Hien Luong Village in Lam Thao District, Vinh Phu Province, who detained and savagely beat 13-year-old Nguyen Van Thanh on 26 April 1987 to the point where the child died on 30 April 1987. Nguyen Cong Tuan inflicted corporal punishment on and brutally tortured Thanh for 16 hours simply to extract a confession from the child that he had stolen 23 kilogram of paddy from a cooperative.

There was the case of Dao Duc Tien, a resident of Kim Thi District in Hai Hung Province, (formerly the judge of the Le Chan Ward People's Court in Haiphong and a graduate of the College of Law who was awaiting his next assignment) who, together with Dao Duc Xuan and Le Xuan Thanh, beat 13-year-old Dao Cong Tuan from 2030 hours until 0900 hours on the next morning because they suspected him of having stolen a watch and a lighter from his family. Tuan was severely beaten, to the point where he was unable to return home on his own. He sustained injuries to his face and stomach. His left lung filled with blood.

There was the case of Tran Thanh Lac, a resident of Diep Nong Village in Hung Ha District, Thai Binh Province, who beat 13-year-old Tran Thang Man because Man had taken a clump of dirt from the ditch embankment next to Lac's house and thrown it into the ditch to make ripples. Lac beat Man very brutally. He grabbed the child by the hair and smashed his head on the street. Then, grabbing the child by his outstretched legs, he rammed the child's head into the dirt and threw him into a field. Friends had to carry Tran Thang Man home. His family took him to the hospital. Following more than 6 months of treatment at numerous hospitals and as a result of suffering severe brain injuries and being paralyzed below the third vertebrae, being totally blinded in his right eye and only having 3/10 vision in his left eye, the child is no longer able to attend school and will be disabled for the rest of his life.

There was also the case of Nguyen Thanh Van, a 21-year-old who resides in Hoang Van Thu Village in Thanh Tri District, Hanoi, who beat 10-year-old Nguyen Tien Cong, breaking seven of the child's teeth and causing many other injuries.

Etc., etc., ...

Such behavior is truly barbaric! It is truly inhuman!

The maltreatment and abuse of children described above violated human rights and trampled upon our principles and conscience. Such reports make us all feel intense pain and indignation.

Our nation has a tradition of wholeheartedly loving and caring for children. Our forefathers said: "Children are the buds on a branch." Today, although there are still many difficulties and shortages in everyday life, our party and state continue to try to provide children with all the care they need. Our people still hold the deepest love for children. Yet, there are some persons who arrogantly detain children and beat them! Public opinion demands that those who maltreat and abuse children be punished in accordance with the law.

By ruthlessly beating children, Tuan, Tien, Xuan, Lac and Van seriously violated the law. Section 2, Article 59 of the Vietnam Criminal Code states: "The primary measures applied by the organ of control and the court to minors who commit crime are educational and preventive; the family, the school and society have the responsibility of actively participating in the implementation of these measures." This article applies to children who commit crimes. In the above cases, Thanh, Tuan, Man and Cong never committed a crime. They were only suspected of having committed a crime. But, to make them confess, these children were beaten and tortured. Securing a confession by means of corporal punishment and torture is a violation of the law. In addition, corporal punishment was used in these cases against minors. Moreover, some of the persons who abused these children were none other than persons working at legal agencies, such as Tuan, a deputy village public security chief, and Tien, who graduated from the College of Law and was once a ward court judge! These persons certainly knew the law. Yet they acted with defiance of the law, they trampled upon the law.

Deserving of thought is that when these serious cases occurred, we did not hear anything from party committees or mass organizations, particularly the Youth Union and the Women's Union, within these localities nor did we see administration agencies promptly prosecute Nguyen Cong Tuan for detaining and beating Thanh to death. Thousands of citizens of Hien Luong and adjacent villages marched on the office of the village people's committee demanding clarification of the facts surrounding the child's death and punishment of the perpetrator. Later, the child's family went to the district and the province demanding that action be taken, but, for

several months now, this criminal has been living a happy-go-lucky life, arrogantly defying public opinion. If the press does not investigate this matter and speak out, will anyone be concerned about taking action? Dao Duc Tien and his accomplices beat Tuan savagely. But the Kim Thi Organ of Control decided to release all three men. Tran Thanh Lac beat Man to the point where he disabled the child. In the space of a little more than 1 year, Man's family has met with legal agencies on 15 separate occasions to demand that action be taken. To this day, however, nothing has been done. Nguyen Thanh Van beat Nguyen Tien Cong in 1984 but has still not been prosecuted even though the Hanoi Municipal Organ of Control requested through official correspondence in February 1986 that action be taken.

Clearly, the concerned agencies are bureaucratic and irresponsible. They have shown contempt for the law, the masses and public opinion. They have not waged an active struggle to protect human rights or uphold justice. Functional agencies, such as public security agencies and organs of control, do not see the seriousness of this matter, have not initiated prompt prosecution and have even ignored these cases all together. In the case of Thanh, the actions of the district and provincial public security agencies and organs of control have caused people to suspect them of not being objective and of trying to protect the criminal in this case.

Children are a source of happiness to families, are the future of the country, are the persons who will carry on our cause. Protecting, caring for and educating children are the responsibilities of all society, of the school and the family. Party committees, administration agencies and the mass organizations must concern themselves with successfully solving this problem and take determined steps to prevent, denounce and fully prosecute actions involving the beating and maltreatment of children.

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Special Importance Must Be Attached To Product Design

42100002r Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 71-72

[Letter from Duong Huong Minh, painter, Hanoi]

[Text] In our country today, product design must be given special attention by the leaders of industrial, small industry and handicraft production because it has truly become a need as pressing as the need to apply new technological advances in production. That is, we must not only introduce scientific-technical advances in production, but must also give attention to advanced industrial design in order to constantly improve the aesthetic quality as well as the level of sophistication of products.

The products we currently produce are on three planes: tools and instruments of production, consumer goods and export goods. Their quality is not high and is also unstable on the sector and the state levels. At the same time, due to the shortage and inferiority of supplies and raw materials, due to limitations imposed by manufacturing technologies and due to a lack of knowledge of the art of design, the standards of quality of more than a few of the goods being produced today are alarming. This is not to mention the emergence of fake goods, which has caused increased displeasure and a lack of confidence among the consuming public.

From the time we began promoting the major economic programs in all fields of the economy and in all sectors and trades, maintaining and improving product quality have become one of our urgent socio-economic guidelines and goals. To maintain and improve product quality, attention must first and primarily be given to the factors that make up each product, among which, in addition to materials, two vital factors of decisive significance are technology and design.

In our country, we are still not truly concerning ourselves with the art of applied design. And, to this day, we have never had a functional agency of a specialized nature concerned solely with this matter. Therefore, the importance of industrial design has not been thoroughly reflected in the thinking that guides production or in specific production standards. Meanwhile, in the world, the realization emerged very early that industrial design is vital to product quality.

Industrial design, in particular, and applied aesthetics, in general, are the only cultural factors that play a direct role in social production and participate in the process of socialist industrialization. The cultural and art sectors should be well aware of this fact. Regrettably, however, at the recent Second National Small Industry and Handicraft Art Competition and Exhibit held in Hanoi in June 1987, the Art Council of the Ministry of Culture remained on the sidelines and left virtually everything involved in certifying the quality and awarding prizes for all the consumer goods from 34 provinces, municipalities and the special zone presented at this competition, up to the Consumer Goods Council. This is concrete evidence of the disregard for the design factor—that is, for beauty—if not to say a perennial avoidance of this matter! It also reflects the view that culture and art are far removed from the socio-economic function of consumer goods.

If our state had a specialized agency to undertake this essential work, we could promptly correct the shortcomings described above. In nearly 30 years, more than 130 industrial design cadres have received formal training in middle schools, academies and colleges. These cadres, a valuable asset, are still being used in a decentralized manner. The majority is not being used in the sector or trade for which they were trained.

We can learn from the experience of the fraternal countries in their practical organizational work in this specialized field. For example, today, the Soviet Union has 9 major centers with more than 10,000 college educated cadres and research assistants in industrial design, who are closely coordinating their activities with the corps of scientific-technical cadres within "artist-engineer-technical worker" combines at basic production units in each field of the national economy throughout the union. They are closely associated with one another in their work, from the development of the initial model to the production of the final product at the factory. All these major centers are under the direct guidance of the All-Union Institute of Aesthetic-Technical Sciences.

In view of the need to urgently carry out the three major economic programs of the party, I suggest:

1. We should quickly establish a Vietnam applied arts center or take the first steps in the establishment of a Vietnam industrial design art center, which should be a truly streamlined organizational structure of a specialized nature that is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers and which orients its activities toward the basic units which produce the leading consumer goods and the primary export goods under the three major economic programs.

2. Together with this specialized center, we should also establish a Vietnam association of industrial artists, which should be a mass organization designed to bring together forces for a design movement a movement which must be widely developed.

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Special Attention Must Be Given To Teaching Youths About Population and Family Planning
42100002s Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 73-74

[Letter from Chu Thi Xuyen, deputy chief of the Propaganda and Training Department of the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union]

[Text] At present, the Youth Union is managing some 16 million Youth Union members and youths between the ages of 14 and 28. Each year, about 450,000 to 500,000 young couples marry and millions of youths start their own families and begin having children of their own. This primary child bearing force and other young families have not been thoroughly educated in population and family planning. Therefore, their awareness of these issues, particularly among rural youths, is still low. The results of sociological studies show that 93 percent of youths in the countryside do not know or do not have a correct understanding of family planning or the measures by which this policy is implemented; 86.4 percent think that every family must have a boy; and 81.8 percent think that every family must have both a boy and a girl. This being their level of awareness, the thinking

and actions of youths concerning population and family planning are, therefore, not consistent with the economic development and life of the country. The majority of youths still begin to have children early in life and have many children close together. Child-bearing youths who do not practice family planning and a number of other causes have led to the following consequences: the country is encountering many difficulties in meeting the goal of stability and improving the standard of living; the health of many mothers and children has declined; the malnutrition among children is steadily rising (50 percent of the children born each year are malnourished); the material bases for spiritual and cultural activities of the young are very inadequate; and many difficulties are being encountered with social activities, particularly in the case of young women. In a village in the outskirts of Viet Tri City, 90 percent of the young women who have started families and had their first child have stopped participating in Youth Union activities and social activities. A similar situation exists in many other localities.

To correct these shortcomings, the Youth Union will, in the years ahead, focus its efforts on performing the following several jobs well:

- Intensifying the teaching of population and family planning to youths to help change their backward, feudal thinking, views and psychology; equipping youths with basic knowledge concerning population and family planning and, on this basis, helping them to acquire the ability to consciously regulate their behavior and control the process of growth of families and the population;
- Successfully carrying out the campaigns "not starting a family until the young woman is 22 and the young man is 26 years of age" and "not having the first child until after 22 years of age and only 1 child per family."

However, education is a process and man is the embodiment of social relations. Consequently, in addition to the efforts made by the Youth Union, participation by the other social organizations, particularly party leadership, are indispensable.

Whereas, in population work, appropriate attention must be given to education, in education, special attention must be given to youths, who make up the primary child-bearing force today and will continue to do so in the future. Moreover, in view of the superior traits of youths, it is they who will be the best propagandists, who will accept and apply science-technology in reproduction and family planning as quickly as possible. In order for this to come about, satisfactory investments must be made in youths. First, there must be an investment of leadership by the party and guidance by the administration through the national population committees on the various levels. They must assign specific tasks and plan norms and provide close leadership and inspection in the same way that the party and state inspect the assault role

being played by youths in the implementation of production plans and in combat. Both the subject matter and methods employed to teach youths about population and family planning must be changed and improved. We should stop using the "loop" as the symbol in all our educational work on the basic level. We should also invest material bases in the education of youths and the activities of the Youth Union on all levels.

Attention must be given to the characteristics of each age group in order to improve the substance and methods of propaganda and education in a manner consistent with each age group. The press, radio, television, publishing houses...of the central level and the localities should provide appropriate, interesting and effective programs for youths.

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World Issues and Events

Safeguarding World Peace, a Change in the Way We Think

421000021 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 75-80

[Article by Pham Huy Thong, professor, PhD and vice chairman of the Vietnam Commission To Safeguard World Peace]

[Text] Adopting new thinking is an overriding demand of our times. Since the October Revolution, since World War II, the situation in each country as well as in international relations has changed dramatically. To achieve results in each field of activity, we must adopt new and appropriate ways of thinking.

Concerning the issue of war and peace, there is one new and especially important factor which demands that mankind adopt new thinking. It is the emergence and development of nuclear weapons, with which, if a world war unfortunately breaks out, there will not only be no victor or loser, but the civilization of man, even life itself, might no longer exist on earth.

What is surprising is that the threat of this holocaust of enormous proportions hanging over the world did not of itself quickly change people's minds. This was because there were, for a time, forces that nurtured a number of illusions, namely, that the scope of thermonuclear war could be limited, that victory could be won by a preemptive first strike, one by means of overwhelming forces, by means of highly sophisticated technology... But now, scientists the world over recognize that the danger of the "nuclear winter" described by the American scholar Carl Sagan is real. And, even U.S. President Reagan cannot consider nuclear war to be anything but inhuman.

Given the harsh premises of the times in which we live, that a world war will be a nuclear war and that a nuclear war will be an annihilating war, preserving peace is the

only path that life can take. This essence of new thinking, this self-evident truth have been quickly recognized by the peace militants of the world, persons who have long been struggling to safeguard world peace, due largely to the fact that they are tormented by the memory of the fascist war. But more than a few politicians, more than a few strata of the old society that have ties to the military and economic powers of capitalism are still unable to abandon the line of thinking that has existed from time immemorial and find it difficult to conceive of any way to resolve the issue of war and peace once and for all.

Viewed from this perspective, safeguarding world peace is, in the final analysis, a major campaign to change the way we think. We should not say that, in contrast to the restructuring of the economy and society now under way in each country, changing the thinking of our adversaries with the aim of safeguarding peace does not lie within our reach! Because, objective reality is persuasive. Because, in today's age, the final word belongs to the people.

Conscience is unique to human beings. Thus, although there have been rulers and even whole nations in history that have openly proclaimed their policy to be one of overpowering the law and just causes by means of brute force, war has never been considered a normal phenomenon of social life.

The policies of the allies in 1945 of setting up international courts to try and then execute Nazi leaders and Japanese militarists for the crime of starting the war marked a legal and ethical turning point concerning the issue of war and peace. Clearly denouncing war as a crime—this was an invaluable contribution to the present day cause of safeguarding peace.

Why can we make this assessment of the historic trials in Nuremberg and Tokyo? Because, the legal force of public opinion and international jurisprudence gave greater credence to the significance of the cause of preserving peace, made the argument for peace more convincing and improved the results from the campaign to adopt new thinking for the sake of peace.

The suffering and pain caused by the war went on to last for many years and, at many places, have evoked feelings of compassion and indignation. But the present day struggle to safeguard peace was launched after World War II. It was partly an outgrowth of the war's unprecedented consequences. But it was primarily the result of the two atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The U.S. imperialists, enjoying a temporary monopoly on atomic weapons, had plans to launch a war to wipe out socialism and enslave the world.

The movement quickly grew. Coalescing within an international organization, the World Peace Council, shortly after its birth, the movement has made effective contributions to maintaining life on this planet for more than 4 decades. It has had this effect because it has persuaded

the masses and other strata of society to stand up and demand that there never be a recurrence of those terrible years, years during which as many as 50 million soldiers died on the battlefield, beneath bombs or behind barbed wire in concentration camps. Peace militants also convinced the peoples of dependent countries to win national independence and struggle for peace to build a life worth living for themselves. The banner of peace also encourages everyone who painfully watches as millions of dollars are squandered every minute on the manufacture of weapons to kill people and destroy buildings at a time when there are many places where children do not have schools, the elderly are homeless, hunger and disease are rampant...

This power of public opinion, of principle, is not insignificant. But the power of conscience was unable to prevent the flames of war from igniting in the Middle East, in Central America, in South Africa and at many other places, unable to prevent the dangerous nuclear arms race now taking place. After the hanging of German and Japanese leaders, politicians and generals who were hawks did not dare to brazenly advocate a policy of war. But, like the bellicose Roman imperialists of ancient times, the military-industrial complex continued to say and had persons believe it when it said that weapons, including nuclear weapons, were still needed to prevent those who would take reckless action! So, although the new ethic of peace had been established, limited progress was made in persuading persons to adopt new thinking. They were still playing with fire.

Today, things are completely different. Now, will they continue to play with fire when the fire is nuclear weapons? To be more precise: enough nuclear weapons now exist and have been deployed to destroy life on earth many times over. However, although the threat of a global annihilating war has emerged, new horizons are being opened from the standpoint of principles and the civilization of man. Preserving world peace no longer only has the purposes of conserving manpower and materiel, preventing destruction and death, preventing suffering by families and nations and raising the standard of living of the peoples of all countries. Today's peace militants can also proudly serve a higher and more important cause—saving civilization, saving life and preserving the future of mankind. In view of this elevated significance and goal, is not the power of the ethic of peace to persuade us to adopt new thinking several times greater? The answer is obvious not only to the broad masses, but also to ruling circles and mercenary strata.

Under these new circumstances, with consciousness of the possibility of nuclear holocaust creating for the peace movement renewed determination and new, favorable conditions for conducting successful activities, a new awareness is blossoming, one which might make a considerable contribution to the movement's victory. It is the increasing awareness of the position and enormous impact of the Soviet Union and of socialism in the cause

of peace. The Soviet Union has brandished the banner of peace. But, peace forces, whenever they have taken the same stand as the Soviet Union have often defended this common stand as coincidental, afraid of being criticized as supporters of the Soviet Union. Now, they understand that it was not coincidental that Lenin's government presented itself to the nation and world with the Decree on Peace, that peace is part of the essence of socialism, that the reason why the Soviet Union has a depth of experience in struggling for peace is because it has respected the experience gained by other countries in struggling to build a world of peace. As the peace militants of all countries increasingly adopt the new thinking of the Soviet Union and identify their peace ethic with the ideals of our times, of which the Soviet Union is the best representative, they will gain increasing confidence in the complete victory of the peace movement.

The decision by the United Nations to call 1986 the "Year of Peace" was a major victory for the world peace movement. This concern of the people had a strong impact upon the thinking of the ruling circles of all countries. During the very first days of that year, the world joyously welcomed the proposal by the Soviet Union of a great but practical program of action aimed at gradually reaching the threshold of an era of permanent peace by the year 2000. Through the year and together with the Soviet Union, other countries and the peoples of other countries, international organizations and non-government organizations enthusiastically presented and exchanged opinions concerning policies capable of implementing the proposed peace program.

The peace movement, its level and style of thinking having changed drastically as shown above, has now established for itself the task of actively participating in the urgent dialogue taking place between the Soviet Union and the United States, the two most important nuclear forces at this point in time and the representatives of the two main schools of political thinking concerning the issue of war and peace. The movement has acknowledged a premise and acted upon it: beginning in Geneva in late 1985 and then in Reykjavik in late 1986 and today, the two sides agree that they cannot allow a nuclear war to break out because there can be no victor or loser in this war and that disarmament can be achieved between now and the end of 1996. Thus, what peace militants must do to contribute to the cause of preserving peaceful life on earth is to adopt new thinking, to change both their thinking and the thinking of the various strata of the people concerning the two aspects of international relations: guaranteeing the security of each country and the entire world and promoting international cooperation. The peace movement sympathizes with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries: on the path to disarmament, security must always be considered a matter of foremost importance. At no time can military superiority lean toward the imperialist side, which is headed by the U.S. imperialists. It should not be forgotten that a plan to attack and occupy the Soviet

Union was drawn up during the brief period when the United States had a monopoly in the atomic bomb. The movement also sympathizes with the need for security to be guaranteed not only for countries that possess nuclear weapons, but for the entire world, for each region and each country. This is not simply a matter of being fair, but is a practical matter as well.

These guidelines are simple, reasonable and easy to understand. In practice, however, they have not been readily or sincerely accepted by the U.S. side or its allies. This causes us to ask: is the intention of the U.S. side to abandon nuclear weapons real? At Reykjavik, the United States criticized the "package deal" plan of the Soviet Union as being too broad, too complex and difficult to discuss. But, 3 months later, when the Soviet Union agreed to discuss each item separately instead of as a "package," it was not the United States that was open to this proposal. At first, Reagan himself cleverly pretended to welcome it. But the allies became concerned over the fact that besides the issue of intermediate-range nuclear missiles of the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe, which the Soviet Union suggested be discussed immediately and resolved first, there were also the issues of short-range missiles, intermediate-range missiles at other places, conventional weapons, verification and so forth. Then, Reagan interjected and expressed doubts about the proposal.

The obstinate and artful arguments of the U.S. side aimed at reducing the possibility for reaching agreement have been dealt with flexibly with the Soviet Union by, for example, agreeing to discuss the issues cited above in addition to the main issue while steadfastly demanding that priority be given to settling this main issue, the issue of intermediate-range missiles of the United States and the Soviet Union in western and eastern Europe. But in the specious reasoning and defensive arguments of the U.S. side, there are clearly two points which are incorrect and must be rejected. One is the incorrect but publicly defended thinking that the world can ban the use of nuclear weapons but must still retain nuclear weapons as a "deterrent," that is, to prevent reckless actions. The other is the thinking, which has not been openly expressed but cannot be concealed, that the U.S. side wants to achieve military superiority and negotiate from a position of strength. These are old ways of thinking which the peace movement must make every effort to overcome by resolutely denouncing them as inconsistent with the era of permanent peace which the peoples of all countries are promising one another they will build.

The second major aspect of international relations with which the peace movement is especially concerned is international cooperation. This cooperation itself is not new. However, the level to which awareness of the need for international cooperation has been raised is new. Today, cooperation is looked upon as a favorable condition, as a way to help implement important policies, such as living together in peace, the new economic order, regional reconciliation and security... Today, in view of

the new political thinking that has been adopted, promoting international cooperation has become the dominant direction of strategic significance in the campaign of the peoples of all countries to maintain peace and, moreover, build a lasting peace.

In the final analysis, living together in peace, the new economic order, regional reconciliation and security...are international cooperation. And, even the discussion of political, not military, measures for insuring international security with the aim of maintaining peace, the most prominent of which are the current meetings between CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev and U.S. President Reagan, are bright expressions, from a political standpoint, of international cooperation. But besides and together with political cooperation, there is also cooperation in other fields: economic, scientific, technical, cultural and social cooperation, cooperation in education, physical culture-sports and so forth, which, if promoted by governments, mass organizations or private individuals through coordinated actions, can reduce prejudices and hatreds, suspicions and fears by whatever degree this cooperation is successful and open the way for complete stable world peace and then to permanent peace.

Likewise, we regret that the Soviet-U.S. "joint Apollo" space flight program of previous years was not continued or expanded and that, instead, the United States prevented the Soviet Union from participating in the Olympic Games, withdrew its financial support of UNESCO and has used fictional films like "Rambo" and "Amerika" to provoke hatred and fear of the Soviet Union among the masses. We applaud the scientists who met in a "symposium" in Hawaii to discuss ways to use and protect the environment; the clergy who held a "round table discussion" in Moscow on combining and enhancing ethical values; and the intellectuals and social activists who engaged in a "dialogue" in Vienna concerning the specifics of world peace today, saying that it should not only mean the absence of war, but must also embrace a system of fair and democratic international relations.

Today, distance and time have been shortened and the peoples of all countries virtually live together under the roof of a single house. Numerous disputes have arisen that can cause tensions and enmity or even conflicts if not discussed and resolved in a spirit of cooperation conducive to an atmosphere of harmony and peace: the indebtedness of the underdeveloped countries; racism in South Africa; guaranteeing the basic rights of man; eliminating international terrorism... We endorse initiatives which propose specific plans for international cooperation on different scales, which assume different forms of activity and reflect different thinking, such as publicizing and researching, on 6 August each year in memory of the destruction of Hiroshima, the forms and specifics of international cooperation proposed during the dialogue held in Vienna and joining the Soviet Union in learning from the experience of the Chernobyl and Challenger accidents in order to achieve an international

policy on the safe and stable development of nuclear energy... The possibilities for international cooperation are exceedingly broad and varied.

As regards Vietnam, an Asian socialist country, there are two directions in which we should make efforts to develop regional cooperation in addition to the international cooperation in which we have participated to date. One is to respond to the appeal made in Vladivostok on 28 July last year by uniting and cooperating with the Soviet Union and other Asian socialist countries to make Asia-Pacific a region of common security and prosperity, one capable of influencing the current situation arising from the fierce competition between the United States and Japan and the intense pressure exerted by them upon other countries in the region. The second is to join Laos and Cambodia, which have closely coordinated their activities with Vietnam, in friendly cooperation and economic cooperation with the ASEAN countries and return ASEAN to its initial objectives and significance as an organization for mutual economic assistance throughout Southeast Asia, not just a political and military alliance of one part of Southeast Asia aimed at threatening the other part, as it has become today.

Only by adopting new political thinking and resolutely taking a new approach can we clearly understand these issues and succeed in performing these difficult and complex but very practical and necessary tasks. Together with building socialism in our country, together with our people participating in every other activity for peace, these are the significant contributions we can make to the historic mission of today's generation of creating a new world that is fairer, happier and more civilized.

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From the Books and Newspapers of the Fraternal Countries

The Current Tasks of Social Scientists and Researchers

42100002u Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 81-85

[Excerpts from article by A.N. Yakovlev: "Understanding the Dialectic of Restructuring" printed in SOVIET CULTURE (the Soviet Union), 21 April 1987]

[Text] Editorial Note: gaining a deeper understanding of the real dialectic of socialist society in the restructuring process, defining clear standards in order to move ahead and, at the same time, overcoming stagnation and dogmatism and restoring Lenin's spirit of creatively searching for the truth—these are the tasks toward which the historians and economists, educators and lawyers, philosophers and sociologists and representatives of the other fields of the social sciences are directing their efforts. A broad exchange of opinions on this subject took place on 17 April (1987) in Moscow at the conference of social scientists and researchers held by the

Soviet Academy of Sciences. Participating in this conference were leaders of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, institute directors, academy academicians in the various social fields and the editors of key social research journals.

A.N. Yakovlev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and academician in information of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, presented to the conference a report on "achieving an essentially new state of Soviet society and the social sciences."

Below are excerpts related to the current tasks of the social scientists and researchers as presented in this report.

There seems to exist among social researchers today a certain "duality of perception." On the one hand, there is an awareness of the complexity and tremendous importance of this period in history. Scientists have alertly perceived and evaluated the situation in the economy, in the social and ethical-spiritual fields. On the other hand, however, we also see a growing inertia, a reassuring illusion that the current state of the social sciences correctly reflects, in principle, the present stage of development of socialism. This illusion poses an obstacle to recognizing that negative phenomena and stagnation are the consequences of dogmatism, of views that are divorced from life, of exhausted solutions. Of importance are the needs to stop the current practice of avoiding difficulties; not yield to the temptation to be easy and lenient on ourselves; and understand how necessary it is to restore to the social sciences Lenin's spirit of not being afraid to search for the truth.

We must elevate ourselves to a new standard in critically evaluating experience—both in correct projections and achievements. We must be biased toward nothing and possess the spirit of self-criticism. We must accurately and openly assess the consequences to which explanations of a number of arguments of Leninism that are popular but contrary to the essence of Leninism have led. We must urge ourselves and science collectives to embark on a revolutionary search for answers to the questions of life. These are the things being demanded of social researchers today. This will not be an easy process and might cause pain, but it cannot be avoided.

Creative Marxism-Leninism is always a discovery, not a concealment, of something. "...We must always return to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, to his thinking..." So said M.S. Gorbachev at the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. These words were not merely an expression of enormous respect, nor were they simply an acknowledgment of Lenin's prestige. They expressed the desire to truly bring back to life under current conditions, to revive, the more fully, the better, the spirit of Leninism.

Dogmatic explanations of economic laws and categories and of some views on socialism, socialist democracy, social fairness and the rate of and prospects for the development of communist civilization have created areas in which the social sciences have stagnated. In practical terms, the dogmatic approach to state ownership, an approach from which we have virtually never varied, put bureaucracy and management by fiat above everything else and led to the endless expansion of bureaucratic behavior. Bureaucratic behavior needs dogmatism and vice versa. The bureaucrat and the dogmatist can only exist on the basis of harming the interests of society. They do this by using things that exist within the state apparatus.

The primary requirement of the social sciences or, it can be said, the order being placed by society with them is that they revive the creative, dialectical view, the realistic view, as Lenin said, in the understanding of the goals of and the means for carrying out the various socialist transformation campaigns, that they research—in a detailed and careful manner—real contradictions.

Today, the social sciences truly have the task of clearly explaining the new and the features of the restructuring campaign, of the conditions under which this campaign is being carried out. Here, every shortcut is nothing more than a common form of dogmatism. The social sciences must perform their work on their own, not take it all from the classics. This essentially entails directing the potentials that have been amassed and dialectical thinking itself toward presenting and stimulating new views. From a theoretical standpoint, this task can be summarized as follows: socialism today must understand itself first. This cannot be achieved if, in the future, the social sciences continue to be afraid to deal with issues that are a part of the structure of political solutions and if they continue to only comment upon these solutions.

Lenin demanded that we take the view of the whole in analyzing the reciprocal impact among the different areas of social life, that this analysis always be up to the minute, especially in situations such as the one that exists today. This view takes into consideration the complex interrelationship between production forces and production relations, between the infrastructure and the superstructure, between politics and economics, between centralism and democracy, between personal interests and the interests of society, between ideology and material living conditions, between psychological factors and ethical factors, etc. Only with a full and organic unity of economic, social and spiritual factors is it possible to restore in its entirety the essence of the new system.

We must reach the point where we can systematically explain the current state of affairs on a common philosophical basis and with a grasp of all modern knowledge. At present, there is a special need for breakthroughs in

basic review programs and a need to develop a complete view of the world, one which includes all real contradictions and the decisive directions in which they are moving.

This view is not in conflict with the urgent need to draw maximum attention to social-sociological, psychological-social and human resource research projects. Socialism is, above everything else, human beings with real relations with society, with other human beings, with the material and spiritual fields. To advance to communism is to first perfect social relations on the basis, of course, of appropriate material and spiritual bases. Our understanding of theory must see and reflect not only the depth of these processes, but even the most complex dialectic of the reciprocal relationship between perception and reality, even the laws of development of perception itself.

Exceedingly important is the need to thoroughly apply the principle of viewing things from an historical perspective. More than a few difficulties can be avoided if, in both word and practice, the structures of society are viewed by us as dynamic, developing structures. This is not a matter of rewriting history from the very beginning in accordance with views now in vogue. Rather, it is the need to view things in the past in an objective and scientific manner, to explain and analyze these things in a very full and complete way that encompasses dialectical contradictions. We must see all the cause and effect relationships among these things, be they in the economic, social, political or some other field. The principle of taking the historical view in scientific, dialectical thinking is the surest safeguard against artificial barriers tantamount to guilds within the social sciences.

The restructuring campaign confronts us, not only in practice but on the plane of theory as well, with the task of revamping socialism, in general, not simply the task of making improvements in a number of its areas, fields and aspects. Of course, the former does not preclude, but also demands the latter.

The tasks set by the 27th Congress give the matters related to developing social consciousness—which is an endless source of social energy—a contemporary significance. Especially important are the position and role of the social sciences in resolving these matters. Strengthening the social economy, strengthening the social infrastructure, developing socialist democracy and developing education—all these are the keys that bring together the matters demanding broad scale resolution from the standpoint of theory, demanding a purpose and understanding in practical work.

While making the changes in society for which the time has come, the party cannot, in view of the urgent need for them, delay the full democratization of social life and the establishment in the way of thinking and working of each citizen of a democratic world view and appreciation of the world.

Democracy—this is the most important mode of existence. To be more precise, it is the only mode of existence of socialism as a social system, as a social entity. Strongly stimulating everything that supports socialism and creating the possibilities of the potentials embodied in it to be fully evident—these things can only be achieved through democracy, through broadening and developing democracy. Socialism cannot be victorious without the implementation of a full system of democracy—this is the legacy of the revolution, is the teaching of V.I. Lenin.

One task of the social sciences is to introduce methods that are compatible with the current stage, organizational methods, legal and political methods that develop in a dialectical way with the aim of achieving an increasingly full system of democracy. Another task is to explain, with increasing accuracy, the mechanism of democracy as a mode for implementing democracy and resolving the contradictions now arising on every level and of every kind.

The issue of achieving an essentially new state of society is raising, on a different level, the question of the social efficiency of society, of the nature and standards of social efficiency. The intertwining of the economy, science, material welfare, the consciousness of man and the culture of the masses has now become so deep that any backwardness in any of these fields immediately affects the other fields and subverts the overall rate of progress. Quickly resolving social problems, with thorough consideration to all details—this is the catalyst to economic development.

The problem we face is to further enrich Marxist thinking on a new plane from the standpoint of the essence of the development of the world and the standpoint of continuously revamping and perfecting our world view. K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin had an enormous impact upon the field of information in both space and time. They studied intensely and with a high sense of responsibility to life. They correctly presented their thinking in most thorough detail! There was not one social phenomenon, not one scientific discovery that they did not explain in a critical manner and incorporate in the system of revolutionary views. One need only recall the scientific achievement of V.I. Lenin in summarizing, from a philosophical perspective, the turning point in the natural sciences at the start of this century. And, if we consider the fact that the volume of information is doubling every 20 months, not every 50 years as it was in the time of K. Marx, we see just how dynamic we will have to be in working together to develop the doctrine of Marx-Lenin!

The issue of developing democracy within science and the issue of ethics in science are now burning issues. Democracy and science is a wholesome way to resolve contradictions in a civilized manner, not by force. Openness is a social tool that can be used to control the work situation in each field of life, including science. We must

democratize the various forms of scientific organizations; must elevate the role of science councils and scientific conferences and debates; must revive scientific criticism; and must make the prestige associated with one's position prestige that stems from one's thinking.

Science can only develop in the process of constructive debate in which there is a clash of opinions. To my way of thinking, even the format and procedures for scientific debates must be viewed from a critical perspective. We need to have debates that arise as a result of emulation on the plane of thinking, as a result of a desire to defend the truth, to defend new knowledge. We do not need debates in which the truth is drowned. It must be recognized that no one has a monopoly on the truth in the way that new questions are raised or in answering these questions.

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History Must Show Us the Way

42100002v Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 87 pp 85-87

[Excerpts of report by N. Maslov at a symposium of CPSU history instructors of colleges in Moscow held by the Moscow Municipal Party Committee; date not given; from MOSCOW NEWS newspaper, French version, 19 July 1987]]

[Text] Editorial Note: a symposium of CPSU history instructors at the colleges in Moscow has been held by the Moscow Municipal Party Committee. At this symposium, Doctor of History N. Maslov (the Academy of Social Sciences subordinate to the CPSU Central Committee) presented a report on the writing of a new textbook on the history of the CPSU. Below are some of the main points in the report.

We have gained positive as well as negative experience in writing textbooks on party history. The first projects were published in 1906. Following the October Revolution, the works of Bupnov and Nevski and Yaroslavski and Popov were published. For nearly 15 years, these works were the textbooks on the history of the Bolshevik movement. Then, "The Abridged History of the Communist Party (bolshevik) of the Soviet Union" was "consecrated" and considered the sole source of answers to questions concerning party history. It was written from the perspective of a cult of an individual. Although it played a certain role in spreading knowledge of history and politics at home and abroad, this book was a source of dogmatism, of needless disputes, of the view that history is a bible that must be committed to memory and in which not even one comma can be changed.

Why did we make the mistake of dogmatizing history? Because, everyone had lost the ability to make independent judgments, had grown accustomed to believing anything they were told to believe and repeating it without thinking.

Following the 20th Congress of the Party, "The Abridged History" was sternly criticized and a host of new books was published. In the second half of the 1960's, publication of these books ceased and only one textbook, written by B. Ponomarev and published in early 1959, remained in circulation. This book avoided answering the pressing questions of life. Nothing changed with its sixth, seventh and eighth printings, except that, with each reprinting, another chapter was added on the latest congress of the party and preceding congresses were summarized.

As they exist today, the humanities have some serious flaws. These are: dogmatism, scholasticism, being far removed from everyday life, a deliberately biased and obstinate attitude in evaluating many historical events and the depersonalization of these events. To write a new textbook on the history of the party, it is first of all necessary to determine what we must cast aside and what we should keep.

At present, there is, at the very least, some difficulty being encountered in overcoming the tenets of dogma now constraining the scientific thinking of researchers of party history.

The first tenet is: denying that there have been conflicts in the process of development of the party.

For many years, the history of the party was presented as a series of victories, successes and achievements. We have, of course, recorded enormous victories of historical significance but political activities, as Chernusevski pointed, are never as smooth as Nevski Highway. To deny that there have been conflicts is not only to embellish reality, but to distort the truth as well.

The second tenet is: that each historical personality who made a political mistake was, from the very outset, an enemy of Leninism and socialism.

This view has not disappeared. It has created mistaken thinking concerning the cadres of the party, the close associates of Lenin, the history of the revolution and socialist construction. There is a need to relate the mistakes made by personalities of the party. At the same time, we should not forget the contributions made by them. Lenin said: "...The history of thinking is the history of change and, for this reason, the history of ideological struggle." Therefore, the internal struggle of the party must be viewed as an ideological struggle. Many personalities of the party are wholly worthy of having their rights of citizenship restored, particularly because they were not spies or murderers or agents of foreign intelligence organizations.

The third tenet is: believing in the constant and virtually automatic development of the party's leadership role without encountering any obstacles or displaying any weaknesses.

How can this be said when the country has fallen into a state of stagnation and is experiencing the serious phenomena noted by M.S. Gorbachev? How can this be said when we are witnessing the degeneration of some leadership cadres right in Moscow as well as in Uzbekistan, Kazakstan, Kirghizia and in Rostov on the Don River, when many basic organizations of the party are not equal to their tasks?

The last tenet is: that each document of the party contains absolute truth, contains the final truth.

But this is not always the case. The principle of democratic centralism (only debating a document before it is approved, after which every party member must comply with it) has applied to all the documents adopted by the party 20, 30 and even 50 years ago.

Had there been, for example, an historic evaluation of the 14 November 1983 Party Central Committee resolution "on the propaganda objectives of the party on the occasion of the publication of the 'Abridged History of the Communist Party (bolshevik) of the Soviet Union,'" which was one of the causes of dogmatism in the humanities, in general, and in the science of party history, in particular, there would have been only one very simple step to take—to cease printing this document.

As regards leaders of the party, were we to rely solely upon textbooks, it could be said that there have been none since Lenin. Even in the best cases, the names of Stalin and Khrushchev are mentioned only as persons reporting to party congresses. But these were complex, contradictory personalities who headed the party and state for many years. We can and must recreate the true identity of these comrades in a scientific and objective manner. We have published books on Roosevelt, Churchill and Eden but political biographies of Stalin have not been written. Meanwhile, in the world, hundreds of political biographies of Stalin have been written, all of which are anti-Soviet and anti-communist in tone. We can cite similar situations regarding other personalities.

We need documents in books on party history. One such book of an educational nature is "Selected Works on Leninism" by Karpov and Frisne published in 1925. The selected works consist not only of copies of the works of Lenin and party documents, but also of articles and speeches by opponents of Lenin. The arguments of opposition elements are presented not through randomly selected excerpts and appended commentaries, but through actual materials. Here, one can read newspaper articles by Martov, Trotsky, Bukharin, Sliavnikov and others that were published as part of debates of the party.

Reality—Literature and the Press
42100002w Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 9, Sep 87 pp 87-88

[Text] Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the fourth Latin American to be awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, is a major world writer. He visited our country twice and is one of the best known foreign writers in our country. In its weekly French summary published on 24 May 1987, GRAN MA Newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party reprinted an interview with him in 1983. In it, Marquez presented a number of little known aspects of his work method, of his struggle—sometimes frantic—against literary style and of the methods employed by him to meet the challenges of the blank page day after day.

According to Garcia Marquez, his best books are books in which he achieves his desires, in which he makes a serious literary effort.

It is difficult to say what percentage of his literary works is non-fiction and what percentage is fiction. Each of his books is based on reality. Each sentence is drawn from reality. The press and literature (novels), according to him, draw their material from the same sources. Their methods, of course, are not the same. However, their objectives are the same: to inform, relate and persuade. Because he is always working as both a writer and a journalist, he has constantly nurtured the dream of these two occupations converging as one. He does not like to call them two genre. He maintains that he achieved this convergence in his work "Essay on a Death Predicted." As he said, this work was a news report, but a news report

in literary form, that is, a literary news report. It was not a work in which the degree of realism was high, but was reality presented in the form of literature.

As regards the structure of works, the most appropriate structure, according to him, is a spiral, a downward, not upward, spiral, the purpose of which is to probe ever more deeply into reality. The eyes of the reader become accustomed to the darkness and begin to see the light.

In one of his works, 1 percent is the result of inspiration and 99 percent is the result of hard work.

Garcia Marquez is about to write a book in which he will tell how he writes his books. In this book, he will very honestly reveal the reality that hides behind the reality in his books. According to him, there is a novel within each novel. He maintains that this book will attract the interest not only of specialists, educators, writers and specialized readers, but will certainly be of interest to everyone as well. Because, regardless of the circumstances and level, once he relates the things behind his books, once he reveals their sources and how they relate to real life, these things will surely be of interest to everyone.

According to Garcia Marquez, the one way to combat unsatisfactory reasons for a writer to be lazy is to be a journalist. Being a journalist helps the writer, not only because it forces him to work and keep pace with the language, but mainly because it keeps the writer in touch with reality. The day a writer loses touch with reality is the day that he is no longer truly a writer. "I, therefore—as Garcia Marquez has said—am an ardent supporter of journalism."

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